The Congregational Quarterly

EDITORIAL

THESE notes are written while the second Assembly of the World Council of Churches is in session at Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A. When they are read we shall have begun to estimate how far our great expectations have been fulfilled, that through the Council the Spirit is indeed speaking to the churches.

The first Assembly at Amsterdam five years ago, put on record the solemn resolve of the participating Churches to stay together; the second Assembly will show how that resolve has stood up to the test of experience and how far it has led us in the urgently important task of giving expression in words and deeds to the faith which brought us together—a task of immense importance to the churches themselves, but of even greater importance to the world to which the Church is bidden to minister in Christ's name.

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At Amsterdam the Churches were compelled to face the differences which they agreed were no longer to be allowed to keep them apart. They were to remain together in fellowship, but not yet 'in communion.' From the examination which this conception of 'communion' has so far received it would appear that to Roman Catholics the decisive bond is the acceptance of the papal obedience. "The Papacy is the Church," declares a recent Roman Catholic church historian. To the Anglican it appears to be the acceptance of an episcopacy considered to be in the Apostolic succession, though this will become clearer when the Anglican attitude to the Church of South India is clarified, as it is expected to be in 1955. We shall then know what the Archbishop of Canterbury meant when in his Cambridge sermon he invited the Free Churches of this country "to take episcopacy into our systems." But until the theologians break down this middle wall of partition, this prickly hedge of 'validity' which has been allowed to grow up around the Lord's Table, and ecclesiastics speak less as statesmen and more as brothers in Christ or fathers in God, the inspiration of the World Council will not flow through to the churches, still less to this tragically divided world.

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Bishop Eivind Berggrav, one of the Presidents of the World Council, writing in June for the Norwegian monthly *Kirke og Kulture,* made a strong plea for joint communion services at ecumenical gatherings. He finds it "intolerable that we should stress our unity in Christ, and then that each should go his own way when Christ invites us to take part in his perfect fellowship." He goes on to say "that the churches have now talked so long about what unites us and what divides us, that if we are to get any further, we must take a step. This step must be to the same communion table."

"It is Christ himself who is the host at the communion table—not the different churches," the Bishop continues. "We have one Bible, one baptism, one Christ, one God and Father of all mankind; how then can we justify our division to the world and to ourselves when we refuse to enter together into the Holy Place to which He invites us?"

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the World Council in 1953, Bishop Berggrav had proposed a joint communion service at the Evanston Assembly. According to the Ecumenical Press Service, "the proposal failed because of insufficient support."

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If the World Council can worship, pray and take counsel together in the interests of the Kingdom of God in a time of deepening crisis; if it essays to speak the Word of God to mankind in its present, pitiable need and yet cannot meet together at the Lord's Table, then the question will be asked by others if not by ourselves, whether the Council is what it believes itself to be, an ambassador of God and a vehicle of His Spirit.

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Indeed this question is in some quarters being not only asked but answered. In an article in the *Hibbert Journal* for July Mr. Kenneth Walker, despairing of the churches, appeals to the writers and artists of this country to assume the spiritual leadership of the western world. "Idealists often remark," he writes, "that the only hope for mankind lies in a spiritual revival, but of what use is such a statement if nothing is done to bring it about? Do we intend to leave it to the churches to engineer a come-back? If this is our hope there is little chance of its being fulfilled. . . . Through its insistence on creeds rather than on living experience, through its claims to be unique, and through the interminable quarrelling between rival sects, the Church has lost prestige and makes but little appeal to intellectuals today. . . . Parochialism in religion is as unsuited to the needs of humanity in its struggle to survive as

is parochialism in economics. . . . If a spiritual renascence occurs it is likely to have its origin outside the churches."

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The opinion that the churches are incapable of revival does not, however, seem to be confirmed in America, where signs of spiritual renewal are said to be increasingly evident. Readers of this journal will remember the judgment of Dr. Gaius Glenn Atkins in his article on "American Preaching in the last half-century" in our April number and, according to a statement in the April issue of *Intelligence Digest,* edited by Kenneth de Courcy, "eighty per cent of the adult population of America are now associated with a church." If this estimate is to be relied upon a very remarkable acceleration in the growth of church-membership is taking place, as indeed is suggested. The *World Christian Handbook, 1952,* in an article about U.S.A. (page 44), observes an increasing membership which, it says, now embraces perhaps 56 per cent of the population. The *Handbook* gives the official figures for all denominations, whereas the *Intelligence Digest* estimate for two years later is probably based upon sampling polls, nevertheless the indication of growth is striking. (The *Handbook* figures for this country give a percentage of rather less than 20 per cent. Other estimates are lower.)

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American religious life, it is clear, is vigorous and influential. It is also enormously varied, and includes movements which in an earlier age would have broken off to form new sects. Perhaps indeed that is happening. Christian Science has already done so; the Watchtower movement (Jehovah's Witnesses) are in process of doing so. Buchmanism and 'Youth for Christ' seem to be prepared to work within the context of the existing churches, but are readily distinguishable. All these movements are growing, and Dr. Billy Graham's remarkable mission in this country shows that this tendency is by no means worked out. Accounts of the work of the Watchtower movement in Africa published in the *International Review of Missions,* May, 1940, and October, 1951, show that it is spreading with great rapidity among primitive people.

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The growth of the Oxford Group movement may be studied in its literature which is already extensive. A new official booklet, *The Oxford Group and its work of Moral Re-Armament* with a foreword by Sir Lynden Macassey, K.B.E., Q.C., LL.D., is a compilation of testimonies to the effectiveness of its work as men and women have discovered or recovered faith in God and the

work of the Holy Spirit and have pledged themselves to live by the 'four absolutes'—honesty, purity, unselfishness, love. "The Group insists with primitive apostolic conviction upon the challenge of the absolute as opposed to the relative or conventional moral standards."

In the sixteen years since its beginning under the direction of Dr. Frank Buchman the movement has extended its work to 118 countries and has established a headquarters at Caux in Switzerland, where annual assemblies are being held lasting several months, which have already been attended by some 68,000 people. The movement seems to direct its attention chiefly to persons in key positions in social and industrial life. Roman Catholic tributes are quoted and "Communists tear up their party cards at Caux."

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These various movements differ greatly in the content of their message, and in the direction of their appeal. They all claim to be a sufficient interpretation of the Christian gospel, but their theological bases are arbitrary, or even irrational. Their attitudes to the churches vary; Buchmanism says little about the churches, Christian Science and Watchtower dissociate themselves, and are sometimes hostile. They are all alike in arousing the enthusiasm of their converts, on whose energy in spreading the faith they rely. They claim to meet spiritual needs which the churches fail to satisfy.

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Dr. Billy Graham's remarkable evangelical work is done largely in association with the churches, on whom he relies to receive the converts he brings in. We ourselves had the interesting experience of inviting Dr. Graham and Mr. Cliff Barrows in 1948, when they were less well known in this country, to conduct a two-day mission at Memorial Church, Hull. The meetings were crowded, and on the second night 110 young people who made 'their decisions for Christ' retired to a room where Dr. Graham spoke to them quite simply. Now that they had given their lives in love and faith to Christ, he told them, three things were expected from them—to read their Bibles daily, to say their prayers, and to take their places as active members in the churches of their choice.

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It was not difficult, of course, to discern that Dr. Graham's views of the Bible owe little to modern scholarship, and the technique of the meetings was designed to work up a tense emotional atmosphere, but the total effect of all that was said and done was deeply impressive.

Dr. Graham, to whose personal qualities, manifest love for the young people to whom he ministers, and complete sincerity we gladly pay our own tribute, readily discussed his aims and methods. His work was not to compete with the churches, but to supplement it. "I cannot do what you are doing in the continuing life of the church, but perhaps I can do what you cannot. You work chiefly with the people who come to church; I aim at the people who pass by." Of the 110 young men and women who made their decisions, most were already attached to a church, but not all. There were conversions as dramatic as any in our records; among them a young girl who had come in from the streets, and who a year later was joyfully and courageously keeping faith with her new-found Lord.

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Where these various movements will eventually lead no one can yet say. Some of them will probably fade away in the testing of experience. But their success in our present situation cannot be ignored. By their fruits we shall know them. Meantime if they have anything to teach us in the technique of evangelism, we ought not to refuse to learn. The varieties of religious experience are great. The wind bloweth where it listeth: we know in part and we prophecy in part: the sun is larger than the Peloponnesus. So long as there are churches who are persuaded that God moves only in the ways they know and control, so long will the Spirit of God seek other ways of reaching the hearts of men.

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The International Congregational Council, among its other activities, this summer arranged a theological conference with representatives of the Dutch Remonstrant churches at de Hoorneboeg near Hilversum. The Remonstrants are a small group of churches with an interesting history, not unlike our own. An account of them was given by Dr. Heering in his article in this journal in April, 1953. Two of the papers read at the conference are printed in this issue, from which may be gathered something of the substance of our discussions and the level at which they were conducted. It may be possible to print other papers later.

In a busy week we broke off to make one excursion to see the pictures in the van Gogh gallery. Looking at these pictures what is one to make of the fact that he never sold one of them in his lifetime? He was maintained by his brother, until his unhappy, premature death, who carefully took them one by one as they were finished, and stored them away in an attic. No one knows whether he believed in the painter's genius, or whether he preserved them

out of a brotherly love that never failed. They were sons of a Remonstrant minister.

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After this contemplation of the work of a genius whose body was too frail for the surging life within, our excursion became a pilgrimage to the British War Cemetery at Arnhem. It was a lovely day in June. The grass glowed after the rain and the roses gave colour to this place of peaceful beauty. After life's fitful fever, they sleep well. We walked along the lines of graves reading the names, titles and decorations of those who lie there. There were some who have a memorial but no name, on whose headstone was inscribed, 'Known to God.' That is indeed our faith, that like Moses we are known to God by name. In the end, the end of all our theologizing, all our organization and all our busyness, it is this that matters. We have the authority of Jesus Christ, and there is no other, for believing that we all, like these whose bodies are buried here in peace, 'are known to God.'

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Something has been lost with the disappearance of the picturesque preaching which survived into this century but which has now disappeared, even in Wales. What preacher nowadays, in a sermon on the raising of the son of the widow of Nain, would ignore anachronisms and describe the old sexton who, having dug the grave, scraped the mud off his boots and gathered his tools together behind the corner of the church, then look at his watch and slowly make his way down to the lytch-gate and stand looking for the first appearance of the mourners. After a few minutes he looks at his watch again and shakes his head. Then a solitary figure comes in sight. As he comes near, the old man asks, "Any sign of the funeral? It's late." "What funeral?" "The widow's son, of course." "But there isn't any funeral." "No funeral, of course there's a funeral. He's dead, isn't he?" "But haven't you heard? That prophet from Nazareth has been in the village, and he raised him to life again." "No funeral? Then who is going to pay me for digging the grave!"

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The recent conference at de Hoorneboeg was conducted in English. A welcome fellow-guest was Dr. Ivar Wennfors of the Swedish Covenant Church, who at one point was invited to speak. He began with this delightful sentence: "I feel towards the English language like I feel towards my wife—I love her but I cannot manage her."

THE MODERN WORLD CHALLENGED BY A NEW THEOLOGY

By Herman J. Heering, M.A., D.D.

Theology sometimes challenges the world, but in general it does its work in the kitchen so that others may be nourished for their task of confronting men with the Gospel. There is nothing either spectacular or challenging about a kitchen, though we love those who labour there, while the word 'challenge' is drawn from the world of conflict, or at least from the atmosphere of antithesis. It is true that theology has been an active element in the Christian-secular antithesis, sometimes for good, and at other times for ill, but over against this we must recall that there is still a powerful theological isolationism among us. Barth began to tear off the ideological wrappings which enveloped the Christian Gospel, while Niebuhr—with his cynical and merry theology of unmasking—could go further and expose worldly ideas and ideals in their deceit and frustration. They, indeed, challenged the world, and did their jobs well; but we have to draw still further consequences from their work—perhaps, in quieter and more humble ways—for theology is the rational account, here and now, of the eternal Gospel to the Church and to the world. Dealing in constant intercourse with contemporary civilization, it writes the credentials of the creed. Such credentials are always required by the Church and the secular world, though the world does not accept Christian authority as such. It describes itself as emancipated. The philosophy of freedom is fashionable. Man shapes himself. To live is to choose one's own being. But even though this philosophy of extreme liberty is not acceptable to us as Christians, few would deny the power of emancipation which has been at work in the world during the last four centuries; and few would regret it. We do not want to set the clock back. On the contrary, does not the Bible call for personal decision, asking us to be sons and not slaves of God? Can the Bible not be understood from the story of Adam to the Epistle to the Galatians as a tale of emancipation from the worldly powers of nation, soil and sex, to the "liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free"? In the light of the Biblical message, is modern man really free? For ninety-nine per cent of the people freedom still lies ahead, and for the one per cent of consistent doubters and Sartrians it has, as yet, no content! But let us have no Christian endeavour to subdue men by powers and doctrines, old or new, which discard

the necessity of personal decision. Theology should at last take seriously both man and the Biblical message of freedom: man—not as a being with entire freedom of choice (in this, Sartre overestimates, miscalculates man), but as that creature of God who is to be set free and has been chosen to make his own choice. Even God does not force man to follow his proper destiny! In this respect the opening chapters of Genesis are quite explicit.

On the other hand, our modern Western world would not be helped by a Christian authoritarianism which, we agree, could be of use in times of worldly authoritarianism as, for example, in the recent past or in face of present social and economic powers. We must not forget Niebuhr in this situation! There exists an aggressive humanism which needs an authoritative reply; yet our age is perhaps better characterized by its spiritual sloth and uncertainty, and the dizziness of a supposed freedom which is not helped by dictated truths and commands.

Orthodox theology has largely forsaken this Biblical idea of freedom, and neglected the course of modern man. It defended its objectivization of God and man, and became a theology of substantives, fixed truths and relations, a closed metaphysical system ruled by a God whose arbitrariness, in the eyes of the rank and file of believers and deniers, turned Him into a pious name for Fate. In God's world the role of man was obscured, and even now, in order to lay stress upon the divine character of Christ, the true man in Him is still obscured. And when man is obscured in theology, God also remains hidden in the mists of transcendence or of fate.

Liberal theology, on the other hand, showed a strong tendency towards subjectivism, in which everything became relative, dependent upon human faith and insight. It overburdened human capacity and responsibility, and tended to obscure God in His saving and redeeming work. And when the living, active God is obscured, man is dehumanized and stripped of the grace in which alone human life becomes possible and worth living.

These two emphases, the one upon God and the other upon man, are balanced in what is called Biblical Existentialism. In the Bible both God and man are taken in all seriousness. God desires to save man in his freedom which, if left to himself, man can but misuse. So deep is God's desire that He humiliates Himself to be with man from Creation and the Commandments to the Suffering Servant of Second Isaiah and Jesus upon His Cross. The reason for the anthropomorphic description of God is that He reveals Himself in a growingly human way which reaches its climax in Him who later came to be called true man and true God, but whom the Bible calls *Immanuel,* God with us. This self-humiliation of God

is caused by His anxiety about us, for He entrusted man with the cultivation of the earth and the proper use of all his faculties. Man may choose his own life; and though no real life is possible except upon God's way, He forces no man into it, for then man would not be man. Man never becomes fully man until He comes, who is not only God-with-us, but also in a real sense, man-with-God.

The relation between God and man in the Bible always has the structure of a dialogue, but dialogue in a universe which is the Lord's and which operates according to His will. The Bible lays little stress upon the omnipotence of God, however firmly this forms the background of everything.

Is there a new theology along these lines? If there is, it is a very old theology, and new only in relation to centuries-old Scholasticism and Idealism, the 'theologies of the noun', of fixed qualities and structures. The fundamental structure of the Hebrew language is formed by the verb. Hebrew thinking is more concerned with becoming than with being, with the future rather than the past, with relations as against schemes; not with metaphysics, but with intercourse between the living Lord and the living man in which the unexpected continually happens. And only now are we rediscovering the truth and value of this approach which is being essayed in practically every field and every blend of theology, unlocking doors for ecumenical discussion and understanding not only between Protestants, but also between theologians of the Reformed and Roman Catholic traditions. It opens up the relation between Scripture and tradition, between the Church and the world, between faith and civilization. In a secular world it is no longer possible to set aside the sacraments as sacred; nothing is sacred in this world except in relation to a Holy God; and in relation to Him everything may be sanctified. This viewpoint cannot be directly attributed to any particular book, organization, or doctrine. The Dutch theologian, van der Leeuw, worked towards a new conception of sacramental life in daily living with God, but even in Roman Catholic circles (Odo Casel and others) there is a movement towards a less substantial and more spiritual understanding of the sacraments. As at the end of the Middle Ages, so today, there is a loosening of official theology and ecclesiology which allows for a more direct and spiritual encounter with God. There is also a fresh understanding of God's encounter with man. God's love did not enter into a doctrine, an institution, or an ideal, but into a human being. What did God mean when His love became a plain, ordinary man? Does not this humiliation mean that He wants to save the world by the sacrifice of His love, by the humility of His service, and by the defencelessness of His Word and Spirit? In that case a new theology must look not so much for the dominating truth as

for the saving word and way in this or that particular situation. It is a theology of evangelism and mission.

In this Christological centre, the new orthodoxy seeking a fuller view of man and a new liberalism desirous of fuller understanding of grace, meet together. This is the reason why Bonhoeffer is so widely read. He pictured God trudging through the mud of this world; and his own life itself illustrated this kind of deep involvement. In poems and novels, and in the unlimited suffering and death upon battlefield and in prison camp during the last decades, there has arisen a widespread notion of the solidarity of God with human suffering, and a brotherly communion with Christ crucified. So that with relief many have read Bonhoeffer's diary in which a so-called Orthodox theologian expresses himself in a downright patripassianistic way. Recall his short poem, "Christians and Pagans":

> Men go to God in their need,
> Entreat Him for help, for good fortune and bread,
> For deliverance in sickness, from guilt and from death.
> Thus do they all, both Christians and pagans.
>
> Men go to God in His need,
> Find Him slandered, poor, without roof, without bread,
> See Him devoured by sin, weakness, death.
> And Christians stand by God in His pain.
>
> God goes to all men in their need,
> Satisfies body and soul with His bread,
> Dies on the Cross for Christian and pagan,
> Forgiving them both.[1]

It is not accidental that others have followed Bonhoeffer's lead: in Holland, Beek, Mönnich, and de Graaf, with which we may compare Dr. Charles Duthie's article, "God in His World."[2]

My personal fear, however, is that there is overmuch feeling for the suffering of God, and not enough for His sovereignty and redemption. The stress is upon tragedy rather than triumph, upon the Cross and not upon the Resurrection. There is wisdom in the old notion of the Trinity in which are brought together the suffering of God and His sovereignty over suffering, the humanity of Christ and the transcendence of the Creator. To my mind, Dr. Duthie, in his article, lays too great a stress upon the immanence of God, and not enough upon His transcendence. But Tillich, in *The Courage To Be*,[3] leaves the notion of transcendence empty!

> "In our acceptance of that which we do not know the power of being is manifest to us. Courage has revealing power, the

[1]Translated by the Rev. Conrad Bonifazi, M.A.
[2]*Congregational Quarterly*, January, 1953.
[3]p. 172.

courage to be is the key to being itself. The courage to take meaninglessness into itself presupposes a relation to the ground of being which we have called 'absolute faith'. It is without a *special* content, yet it is not without content. The content of absolute faith is the 'God above God'. Absolute faith and its consequence, the courage that takes the radical doubt, the doubt about God, into itself, transcends the theistic idea about God."

As far as I understand it we are now approaching a new Christology, and a new theology. The 'theology of dialogue' neglects God's initiative and power to save. The 'theology of the suffering God', succumbing too readily to a tragic interpretation of life, neglects the Resurrection and that Kingdom which comes and is to come. Our task is to reach a new understanding of salvation by sacrifice, of authority in humility, of transcendence in 'togetherness', of redemption in judgment, and judgment in grace.

In brief elaboration of some of these remarks, let me state six points:

1. Our strictly theological task will be to stress the freedom of the living God whose creation is not completed, and whose redemption, though fulfilled, is not yet finished. In my opinion, the 'Olympian 25' of the World Council of Churches made an inspired choice by selecting as the theme for the Second Assembly at Evanston, "Christ—the Hope of the World." We may yet hope in God because of what has already been revealed to us. As thinking beings we may not avoid metaphysics which tend to pin down God's character, will, creation and truth to a secure and inescapable structure; but God has not offered us His deepest revelation in some truth or idea, or in nature, but in history, man, and in love, wherein we find continuity and change together. We understand little of God from nature, but we understand Him in history, and He is continually about us with His miracles.

In an inspiring article in the *Congregational Quarterly*[4] Dr. E. L. Allen feared what he called "occasionalism" in this type of theology, but the Bible shows that there can be change in continuity, and identity in changing occasions. We agree with Dr. Allen that our generation, instead of writing theological *Summa's,* will produce incidental theology, which some may call *relative,* but which we shall call *relational.*

2. In relation to Christology, Liberal theologians must revaluate the doctrines of Incarnation, Trinity and the dual nature of Christ. I say "liberal" because the orthodox are rarely able to distinguish between the original meaning of the doctrines and the legalized

[4]"The New Orthodoxy and the Contemporary Mood," April, 1950.

interpretation of them in later ages, for fear of losing their reputation for orthodoxy; and because it requires courage to differ from the Church Fathers, even when it is necessary. But when we differ on these occasions, God is doing something with us that He did not do with them. During the Christian centuries, practically all attention has been focused upon the Divinity of Christ—divine in His human nature. Our task is to pay attention to the human nature of Christ—human in His Divinity. The old liberal tradition was content with Christ as an example, but the inevitable reaction against this onesidedness became so strong that we hardly dare use the word 'example' any more! The former antithesis of 'Christ for us' as against 'Christ in us' should be fused into 'Christ with us'. As true man He offers us victorious living and reveals God's ways and will; though the cross be given to us, the resurrection is also meant for us, both here and hereafter. Even in the despair of chaos we share the nearness of God, in Him.

3. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit should fill a greater place in our creed and theology than is traditionally granted to it. It is strange that traditional Christianity has always pointed to the facts of salvation and the written word of God without acknowledging that they convey no meaning to me unless I hear and understand them; and this requires the twofold help of the Holy Spirit. Then, in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit we recognize the uncontrollability of God's work with man. The wind bloweth where it listeth. In this respect our free churches have their special contribution to make to the whole of Christianity. Idealism, it seems, is able to grasp the Holy Spirit too easily; while Niebuhr and his companions appear to know exactly where man's spirit and where the Spirit of God are at work! Does the Holy Spirit work only where Christ's name is mentioned and honoured? Is conversion and repentance the only way in which God sends us His Comforter? Or, to put it more sharply, can there be any Holy Spirit where there is no conversion and repentance? And though these questions remain, pneumatology seems to me to be our strongest point and our foremost task, carrying as it does the notion of God's strength and His weakness. For what is stronger than inspiration and invisible help? And what is weaker than word and spirit?

4. In all this anthropology is immediately concerned. Both Christian and non-Christian metaphysics appear to do injustice, both to the greatness of God and the greatness of man, but in the Bible man is emancipated—even from God! Man cannot rid himself of God and His world, but he can shut his eyes to them. Somehow or other he manages to live, but not in fullness of life. In this life nothing and no one is more vulnerable and more easily neglected than God. Man can crucify his God and his salvation; he can

build civilization and cultivate its treasures without God; but strangely enough, no science, no music, and no marriage really succeeds without a God-given humility. Yet not by despising civilization should man be approached or God be praised, but by calling man to his own greatness, and at that point opening God's dialogue with him!

5. Therefore, it is less than ever the Church's task to dominate the world, human life and culture. We are not obliged to be stronger than God, nor need the Church absorb into itself all human activity. The Church is there only at the disposal of that God who so loved the world as to send His Son into it. I am always afraid when I hear about churches which run so beautifully and in which every member has his task. There are other ways of being a church: Iona, the industrial chaplains, the brothers of Taize, for example. And it has become a slogan with us that the only Protestant answer to the priest-workman is the workman-priest! Do you see the kind of church structure which arises out of these experiments? At Lund, Professor Schlink called it the *ecclesia peregrinorum,* the pilgrim church. The pilgrim is unestablished; belonging neither to East nor West, he is at home on either side of any curtain. He understands the transitoriness of life's glory, of its misery, and of himself; without power or worldly authority he is ready to listen and to help. We cannot afford to build cathedrals, though that should not cause us sorrow, for we are an *ecclesia,* called to share God's grace and to offer it to all God's children. And any act, any material, may become the bearer of that grace. We may celebrate the Lord's Supper (here, I think the Iona Community is right) as disclosing the way in which God wants to use the material world to mediate His grace and life to men. Is medical help, the operating table, any less a sacrament than the Communion Table? If our answer to the priest-workman be the workman-priest, must we not be open to a new evaluation of material and industrial life, a sacramental evaluation.

6. All this has its impact upon *ethics.* Buber translated the Hebrew term *Torah* as *Weisung*: 'signpost' or 'direction'. The commands of the Sermon on the Mount are no longer to be understood as *Gesinnungsethik,* but as real commands given for one occasion, and pointing to what should be done upon other occasions. We do not possess an elaborate and set structure of Christian ethics, but move experimentally along the way revealed to us. In this respect, too, the Evanston theme appears to be most fruitful, first in loosening the chains which bind us to a fixed and often antiquated set of morals belonging to a specific age and social class. The God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, not the God of the philosophers, has shown us the way, the truth and the life. And then, if orthodox

ethics are to be relieved of their antiquated moral codes, liberal ethics must be delivered from the burden of over-responsibility. It is not our task to save the world; we are not to work as though God were passive. He is not the highest ideal towards which we must strive, but carries man's burden of sin, despair, need and frustration. We are only to follow in Christ's way. If we admit that Niebuhr has brought a deep sense of reality into Christian ethics by introducing concepts of tragedy and frustration, we must also understand that these are not ultimate concepts. Ours is not an ethic of compromise and soiled hands, but of faithfully, courageously and inventively doing our utmost in the immediate situation, praying for grace and forgiveness. And (Niebuhr omits this from his account) in the New Testament grace means not only forgiveness but also the gift of new life, resurrection-life. *We* are not to decide upon the limits of Divine possibility. Our ethic is one of hope, even if God offers us this hope in the Cross which His love itself bears through our days.

Such are the outlines drawn for me by contemporary events, by the present interpretation of the Old and New Testaments, and by the theologians who inspire me. Will this be a theology to challenge the world? Surely it moves us to commit ourselves anew to the God who is victorious in His suffering and gracious in His judgment.

THE CHALLENGE OF CONTEMPORARY SECULARISM

By L. J. van Holk, M.A., D.Theol.

Secularism is one of the problems that Christian thinkers today have to face, for it conditions a good deal of our real understanding of the world we live in. In this paper an attempt is made to analyse it and to sketch the consequences which its persistent gnawing at our minds has for our practical work and for our theology.

I.

Let us begin, then, with a definition. Secularism is the tendency to consider and handle life from a merely finite, worldly point of view. Such point of view is dictated by commonsense, by common morals, by common aims. Whereas religious enthusiasm and firm faith judge by high standards of belief and of speculation, secularism judges the affairs of life by the standard of the probable, of what generally happens, of everyday prudence. Whereas Christian morals make for some sort of asceticism or at least austerity, thoroughgoing compassion and strict justice, the secular man makes for what is approximately pure, approximately compassionate, approximately fair and just. Whereas Christian life aims at the Kingdom of God coming first (Mt. vi, 26-34), secular life aims at wealth and wisdom, at a nice job and some fun (or much fun).

Secularism then insists on the natural propensities, the natural possibilities, on life as it is given to us in immediate experience. The three main fields in which it displays itself are sensualism, technocratic intellectualism and imperialism.

It is precisely because such secularism occurs in a so-called Christian civilization, that there are mutual contradiction and friction between the eternal and the secular poles of such civilization; or to take up the title of this essay, there is a *challenge*. Of course anybody, even a foreigner, taking up this word 'challenge' more or less knowingly quotes Arnold J. Toynbee, in whose view of history the terms 'challenge' and 'response' occupy such a central place. If these terms have found such widespread acceptance, is not that because they express an often recurrent, existential relation? Secular life implies, indeed, a challenge to the official professions of the Christian faith; just as the Christian faith (or, if you prefer it, the Gospel) presents a challenge to the secular style of living. So I think it is right and necessary to analyse the 'challenge' of contemporary secularism.

There is, for instance, a general way of admonishing our friends and ourselves that we should have faith in God; we repeat with conviction that faith is nothing else but *fiducia misericordiae Dei per Christum Jesum* (Melanchthon). Yet we act as if God's love never intervened in life. A simple example! We know that all our days and circumstances are under God's control, that "our times are in thy hand." But that does not prevent us from taking an insurance on our lives, our health, our luggage. We intervene with surgical operations. We do not leave things to Providence; we canalize and calculate the ways of Providence. And we are wise! This is, however, undoubtedly secular, and some staunch Calvinists therefore repudiate it and refuse such intervention.

And because we shall insist on the darker sides of secularism, be it said here and now that secularization by no means presents only negative attitudes or achievements. Quite the contrary! Frankly secular acting, thinking, feeling have produced wonderful things: in art, the portrait, the landscape; in science, chemistry, astronomy; in letters, novels, lyrics; in social life and law, all sorts of activities for housing, education, etc. And who would deny the positive value of such a secular weapon as the strike to the working classes? Therefore let us not bewail secularism without distinctions and restrictions, for it is not always a sin, a nuisance, a misinterpretation of life. As an emancipation from clerical obscurantism it has done much good, even if secularism it still is!

II.

This challenge, then, has not originated in the twentieth or nineteenth century, as is often said. It has existed in all ages because this tendency is expressed in the main stream of human activities as such. We are creatures of flesh, of inquisitive intelligence, of expansions and desire for power. Even in times which generally are considered to be steeped in religion and bound within the creeds and institutions of the Church, such as the Middle Ages, we find these tendencies displaying themselves in a very powerful way. No Christian code of marriage morals has prevented the *Roman de la Rose* or the legend of Tristram and Iseult from expressing ideals and realities of erotic life. Folklore and festival alike express an irrepressible pagan lust for life. The Church condemned usury and held the merchant in some contempt, but she was herself a relentless money-maker; she owned and exploited lands; she was eager for prebends and privileges. And as for politics —in which century did Churches not go in for power politics? And when did Christian princes not ally themselves with the devil if they thought it advantageous? Shall we think of King Francis I, "his Most Christian Majesty", warring with the Sultan against

the Emperor? Or Cardinal de Richelieu, allying France with the Evangelicals in the Dutch Republic and Gustavas Adolphus of Sweden against the Roman Catholic powers of Spain and Austria? Or shall we remember how the Netherlands and England in 1697 forsook the Huguenots to appease Louis XIV? No, Christian Western civilization did not wait for the de-Christianizing of the urban masses in the 1880's to become profoundly secularized. The Christian gospel is far too penetrating a challenge to the general ways of life to allow us to expect it to be the popular code of behaviour and thinking in any age. But, on the other hand, it should be acknowledged that natural man is never wholly secular. There are opposite tendencies, ingrained in the human heart, which may determine man's behaviour and his inner consciousness. Although by birth a lazy creature and easily content with immediate success, man has in his soul a longing for the difficult and the sublime. He may often be mixed in his motives and a heartless egoist, yet he also feels a call for purity and altruism. He wants things spiritual, he craves for the Beyond, notwithstanding all his 'this-worldliness.' He need not be a Christian to feel these longings. We find them among Hindus and Chinese, and everywhere in the world. They make up a part of human nature. "By the grace of God," we shall probably add as Christians. Yes, but man himself does not see it always in this light. He takes the lighter side to be as much part of the picture as the darker side. But we should hesitate to call these longings *splendida vitia,* or subtle forms of secularism: they are the stuff of which religion is made, and they oppose the crass, vulgar forms which secularism prefers. So we can say that secularism is of all ages, but it is accompanied and opposed in all ages by complementary tendencies.

Let us now turn to *contemporary* secularism. It represents a slightly different brand, at least in degree, but also often in quality. Its most popular characteristic is the preference we have for sensational excitement, for quickness of movement, for comfort and easygoingness. In a certain sense we are all born with a silver spoon in our mouths. Every new invention strengthens this tendency; the tendency itself makes for new inventions. Sensationalism and speed, going hand in hand, cover (or try to cover) a profound spleen: we are easily bored, irritated, tired. So the longing for the difficult and the sublime easily becomes something of 'reaching for the moon.' They may interest us on the screen, but we do not strive for them in real life. The apathy of late phases of civilization often displays this temper (the Roman *taedium vitae*). But that does not better things. Indeed, this first characteristic chains man's heart and senses very strongly to the rock of secularism.

The second feature is that of technocratic intellectualism. Never before in history has applied science had such enormous successes. And never before has society been in such need of experts in nearly all fields of human activity. Science has philosophical roots. It rests upon certain assumptions, which are by no means self-evident. Other civilizations meant by 'science' something quite different: wisdom of the heart, speculative knowledge ('gnosticism'), or whatever it was. But we, modern Westerners, have thinned out science to a calculation, a technique for measuring forces and numbers and movements: no ontological, meaningful background seems needed to technical skill. . . .!

Moreover the successes of science represent both a benediction and a curse. A benediction because thanks to science we can save thousands of lives, cure innumerable diseases, postpone death, repair the damage done by traffic, by daring enterprises, and so on. There is, for example, erosion, a consequence partly of man's stupid exploitation of the soil, partly of the work of animals or climatic changes. But now we consciously try to remedy this: we plant trees; we 'seed the clouds' and make rain; we build dykes and pierce mountains. In short, we *plan* intelligently to repair and to prevent catastrophe; to organize labour, to distribute the treasures of the earth, to check famine. But then—look at warfare! War always has been a terrible thing, a horror and a sin. But how far more devastating our scientific skill has made it!

The third characteristic of modern secularism is the political one: power-politics on a huge scale. Should we say 'unabashed' power-politics? That would be right as to the ultimate aims, but wrong as to the methods. No government likes openly to be an aggressor. Endless diplomatic disputes are going on at all levels, issuing tortuous communiques. But the two dominating ideologies are incompatible, irreconcilable. And they serve powers, huge as never before. "The great globe itself" is the battlefield of their cold, or hot, war. All other powers, however influential they may have been, are dwarfed by this couple, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

With the second and the third characteristics reinforcing each other and using the first one as it best suits them, the whole of modern secularism represents a most menacing impact, challenging all the Christian and humanitarian traditions we have ever lived by.

There is, of course, an opposite stream, too, showing itself in social work, in international law, in disinterested scientific research, in all sorts of idealistic movements, in pacifism. It should be noted, however, that not all the credit for this opposition goes to Christian inspiration (although the various churches most certainly have an honourable record in this work), but to a large extent it flows

from 'secular' sources; from utilitarian considerations, from that broad humanistic idealism which, in the realm of the arts and science, is a strong non-religious group of forces. (The UNESCO work and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights seem to be built on this foundation.) It is highly regrettable that these two, 'Christianism' and humanism, are often hardly on speaking terms with each other, at least in my country.

One may say that the strength of the secular challenge is in its very prestige and success. We are fed, housed and educated largely according to its standards and methods. In our over-populated, highly interdependent world we cannot take a step without organization, planning, science. No programme that would try to abate the pleasures of comfort and speed would ever appeal to the broad masses of society. All the more regrettable it is that the Church, when it becomes front page news, seems pervaded by dowdy and clumsy obscurantism.

III.

By far the most interesting feature in this whole situation seems to me the often unacknowledged inner antagonisms which reveal themselves in it.

There, is, first, this opposition between the upper current of Christian plus humanistic idealism and the under-current of pagan, or rather egocentric, realism. One cannot say that this is something really new. It probably lives in every civilization: the raw and the refined, or brute vitalism and normative spiritualism. In ours it has found a very marked expression. The Machiavellis shock the Savonarolas. Calvin seems no match for the modern Epicurean; St. Thomas Aquinas and Aristotle do not have an easy time with John Dewey or the logical positivists. Of course the history of civilization always has been the realm of the seven capital sins: without avarice, conceit, envy, sloth, luxury, scarcely one interesting page of history would have been written! The fact that without generosity, justice, austerity and fervent zeal some other pages would not have been written either, makes the sum total no clearer. Western civilization is a most confusing spectacle to look at and is still more confusing and baffling to have to play our part in.

Therefore it is no wonder that we also see a desperate struggle to forget this tension by a mad pursuit of pleasure, security, and that appalling cultivation of perpetual emotion which fills our weeklies, our cinemas and our books: an insincere optimism of the foreground. Here again we see an opposition, because there is an undesirable pessimism at the background of this: formless anxiety (surpassing the many well-expressed fears); loneliness, the life of the heart cut off from real communion with others in the midst of

roaring crowds; cynicism laughing at the endeavours of idealism, with the sardonic laughter of the wounded souls, the disillusioned idealists, the victims of war, occupation and bombing, of the displaced persons and the innumerable refugees, filling towns and countries in East and West.

This gives a special twist to the word we used above, 'pagan.' There is a deep difference between heathen civilizations which, even when steeped in superstition, were at least God-fearing, longing for salvation, acknowledging the superiority of cosmic order and the laws of their gods—and this modern Western, "post-Christian" situation as it is called, of un-metaphysical, irreverent urban intellectuals and semi-intellectuals, in populations which have passed through world wars and threats of war and revolution. The modern atheist generally is sneering at the theistic roots of his own existence. The smiling optimism of the determined forgetters is matched by the grim pessimism of the determined rememberers. Fatalism and astrology (or some other form of soothsaying) are rampant among us. People are curious about the future, yet unbelieving. Modern man is a creature of metaphysical distrust at the heart of his technological confidence. In his sports he is all for fair play, yet untroubled by unfair professionalism in his Olympic Games. He is insincere in his analysis of sexual complications, yet incapable of deep synthesis by the real Eros. He is excited and spleenish, easy-going and violent; politely atheistic in his intellectual life, yet with a persisting nostalgia for religion hidden somewhere in the depth of his soul. He still pretends to believe in man's natural goodness, yet is very near to "the divided self" (an expression of Wm. James) of the VIIth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. His is a split consciousness, picturing itself in surrealistic forms of art. No doubt a foreigner, writing all this, will, in England, appear to be a pessimist himself. For British people have a strong antipathy to over-statement. And perhaps many of them will think the above analysis a sample of Continental exaggeration. But you have among you a man who, American by birth, Britisher by choice, is one of your greatest poets of this time, T. S. Eliot. In his work, especially in his earlier poetry, one finds this despondency expressed with magical beauty. Disillusion about man—do we not read it in "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock"?—

> No! I am not Prince Hamlet, nor was meant to be;
> Am an attendant lord . . . .
> Full of high sentence, but a bit obtuse;
> At times, indeed, almost ridiculous—
> Almost, at times, the Fool.

. . . I have heard the mermaids singing, each to each
I do not think that they will sing to me. . . .

And criticism of urban life:—

A cry from the North, from the West and from the South
Whence thousands travel daily to the timekept city
Where My Word is unspoken. . . .
And the wind shall say: Here were decent godless people.
Their only monument the asphalt road
And a thousand lost golf balls.

And criticism of "The Hollow Men (a penny for the Old Guy)":—

We are the hollow men
We are the stuffed men
Leaning together
Headpiece filled with straw.

The poem ends:—

This is the way the world ends
Not with a bang but a whimper.

And finally the sad beginning of "Ash-Wednesday":—

Because I do not hope to turn again
Because I do not hope
Because I do not hope to turn

After which there is every reason to end the poem as Eliot does:—

Pray for us sinners now and at the hour of our death
Pray for us now and at the hour of our death.

So much for the modern temper as expressed in poetry.

IV.

The theoretical exposition of modern secularism is to be found in that group of philosophies commonly described as existentialism. This word covers a multitude of schools. Not all of them express the negative aspect of life; not all of them are atheistic. Jaspers and the Roman Catholic existentialists, Lavelle and Marcel, move on a more idealistic plane. The common denominator is anti-idealism, anti-merely-contemplative ("un-engaged") thinking, anti-harmoniously-simplifying of issues and answers. But the positive influence of existentialism is not measured by these 'anti's'. On the one hand there is the influence of Kierkegaard, systematized by Barth, for whom existence means the real life of man between eternity and time, the life of the sinner. Existentialism may then be a healthy reaction against a far too easy optimism, but still preserving, or rather making room for, the Christian existence. On the other hand there is the influence—by far the greatest—of such men as Heidegger and Sartre. Of course,

it is quite impossible, within the limits of this paper, to do justice to the work of these philosophers. I can merely try to stress some items of relevance to our present subject.

1. Sartre teaches a liberty for man, not only unguided by any positive trans-subjective value-system, but without the possibility of realizing itself with any success: man is doomed to liberty. He is "thrown into life," and then, where he finds himself lying, he has to get up and to grope his way. Circumstances, however powerful, are never an excuse for not acting as he should. It is his damned duty—so to speak— to act with the liberty that is imposed on him. In such a system there is no room for love or charity. Man is fundamentally alone, and has to call himself back to himself from his surroundings, from that impersonal life which is initially given to him amongst others. There is the less room for charity as he does not like to feel hemmed in by his neighbours, by the thickness, the "viscosity" of things (which can only cause him nausea). Thus there is fundamentally something of the adventurer in him, of the free-lance: doomed to liberty indeed!

2. Sartre as well as Heidegger stress our being time-bound: time is the horizon of being. All human existence is driven on. We live "ahead of ourselves," project ourselves into the future. But the inevitable term of our future, of each creature's existence is—death. Who says 'time-bound', also says 'death-bound'. Therefore time is the inexorable horizon. In this system there is no room for hope. Neither is there for eternity, nor any form of persistence. Life is essentially historical, displaying itself in the three "ecstasies" of time (past, present, future), just as T. S. Eliot said it in "Burnt Norton":

> If all time is eternally present
> All time is unredeemable.

3. Being itself thus points into nothingness: man is suspended over the void of nothingness. The image is suggestive; the reality, meant by the image, is grim and dark. There is no room for faith or God in this concept. Being is being—this meagre, yet all-embracing tautology replaces God. Things start, pass by, are gone, return perhaps. However ephemeral, they have their being. As beings they raise the problem of the Being of their beings; which is just itself. This tautological aspect of existentialist ontology is perhaps the response to the deep and desperate experience of estrangement and split consciousness, so characteristic of modern man. We have lost our neighbour, we have lost Nature, we have lost ourselves in the process of life. But we are what we are. A little subtler; we are not what we say we are ("I am a waiter" is true on the surface for the waiter who answers your question about

what he is. But it is not true in essence. Essentially no man is a waiter: he is himself. But he must circumscribe his being in the way of not-being in order to express what he is).

It is interesting to note how far this interpretation of nothingness and the negative in general differs from that of Bergson, who took both dis-order and nothingness to be expressions of our deception at finding other realities than we were looking for. In Bergson's concept there was room for God, if not as the root, then at least as the crown of creation. But the ontology of the existentialist type knows only of the "No" as the devaluating principle, sweeping away all seemingly meaningful existence, although giving it room somewhere in this emptiest of all categories, twisting Hamlet's agonized question, "To be or not to be?" into the initial and the ultimate assertion of all metaphysics.

The consequence of this threefold negativism can perhaps best be expressed by some of the famous dictums of this school: —

1. Man is a failure ("un dieu manqué"), capable of superhuman intuitions and ideas, but never able to realize them. This view, founded in some sort of idealistic conception of man, at the same time degrades him, and has a cynical connotation (not wholly different from Pascal's *"misère de grand-seigneur"* as the signature of man, but leading to how different consequences!).

2. Man is a killer. Camus, especially in his volume, *The Rebel,* has analysed this tendency to get rid of superior beings. The men of the French Revolution were killers of king and of God. And the twentieth century continues this tradition. Indeed, once we look for it, it is disquieting to see how much space acts of violence (including acts against oneself) occupy in fiction and the theatre. This is not so much a romantic trick for easily reaching a climax as a defeatist ignoring of long-term and prudent decisions, or the outburst of hatred and kindred emotions, confirmed, no doubt, by the large-scale military practice of our time. The queerest expressions of this lunatic, quasi-metaphysical desire for the logic of destruction is Camus's interpretation of the Emperor Caligula.

3. In the philosophy of Heidegger we find a different aspect, not so dramatic, but at least as persuasive: man is bound to the grey monotony of daily life of the tenement houses, of mechanical labour, of grievingly and mournfully earning his bread. *Frau Sorge* (Dame Care) is his constant companion.

Or again, the concept of life's fundamental absurdity and man's heroic, although futile, attempt to cope with it by despising it and maintaining himself illogically against the *absurdum,* as Camus taught us in his myth of Sisyphus, is not that the limit of nihilism?

V.

It is in these very straits that the horizon of being widens: the failure of secularism in the heart of its successes calls for the Christian challenge, thus restoring the balance. Was there ever a society, so deeply in need of faith, hope and charity?

This need cannot be satisfied unless we take up the preaching of the Gospel afresh. We must make God believable. We must make it understandable that sickness, failure, doom point somewhere to sin. We must show that there does exist salvation in Christ from loneliness and anxiety. But this cannot be done by any theory. It can only be made enviable, suggestive, existentially sound and powerful by means of Christian practice. Not that I would advocate an 'edifying' theology of pious assertions. In the field of theology we should make clear the underlying eternal factors. But theology will be of no avail, if we have no living religion to found it on. One of the best things we can learn from existentialism is the need for "demonstration in the flesh," in the here and now.

Such demonstration would have for its root conversion of the will, or rather, of the soul by the will; for somewhere and somehow a new beginning must be made. The courage to be, to grow, to be happy, to be a real man is perhaps the innermost need, and yet nothing depends so evidently on grace giving us that courage. Still conversion is now, as in the days of the Apostles, the condition, the root of the New Life. Then the stem, or the flower, may be a new vision, a new joy. Much preaching, however helpful and practical, lacks this special, uniquely refreshing quality of joy, and thereby fails to convince. The curious thing about modern life is that it is serious, far too serious, in its frivolity; preoccupied with its shortcomings in the heart of its achievements; saddened by the proximity of death in the midst of the "pursuit of happiness." But it does not know joy any more. The existential Christian might teach it to modern man. Then perhaps some day we may expect the fruit of such renewal, "the beloved commonwealth." For unless we build a society which really is a commonwealth, we shall lose ourselves in wars and revolutions. But a real society, worthy of that name, is a brotherhood, or at least a community, in which fraternal feelings and comprehension are predominant.

To this task of renewal all our 'congregational' churches may bring their share by an existentialized setting of our inheritance of Christian freedom. Personally, this means freedom, expressing the experience of divine grace; socially, it means co-operation in a thorough knowledge of human solidarity; theologically, it means the dialectical synthesis of eternity and *seculum,* of God-in-man in Jesus Christ. We are challenged by modern secularism, as rarely Christians were before. Shall we take up the challenge?

THE DESCENT OF ISTAR:
From Ashtoreth to the Incarnation

By T. Francis Glasson, M.A., D.D.

Vincent D'Indy, the French composer, in his symphonic study *Istar* (theme and variations, first played at Brussels in 1897) has an ingenious way of expressing in music the ancient myth of the Babylonian goddess Istar and her descent to the realm of the dead. As the goddess passes through the seven portals of the underworld, at each gate the warder removes some article of adornment or clothing until at last she stands naked before Allat, queen of the dead. D'Indy, in his composition, instead of following the usual custom of giving the theme first and the variations afterwards, begins with the most complicated variation and gradually works through ever simpler forms until at last the bare theme comes at the close of the work.

The Babylonian myth symbolizes the way in which nature, or the earth, every year gradually loses her adornments of flowers and vegetation. The full story describes the death of Tammuz, originally a Sun-god, but later god of the spring vegetation. Istar, who is (among many other things) the goddess of nature and its reproductive forces, descends to rescue him from the realm of the dead or to procure the water of life to revive him. In the course of her return through the seven gates, she re-assumes her lost adornments just as the earth every year gradually puts on again her clothing of verdure and harvest.

One version of the ancient Babylonian legend is given in Sayce's Hibbert Lectures[1] and is translated from a hymn found last century at Nineveh in the library of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria:

> Istar, on arriving at the gate of Hades,
> To the keeper of the gate addresses the word:
> 'Opener (keeper) of the waters, open thy gate!
> Open thy gate that I may enter!
> If thou openest not the gate that I may enter,
> I will smite the door, the bolt I will shatter,
> I will smite the threshold and pass through the portals.
> I will raise up the dead to devour the living,
> Above the living the dead shall exceed in number.'
> The keeper opened his mouth and speaks;
> He says to the princess Istar:

1 *Lectures on the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians.*

'Stay, O Lady, thou must not break it down!
Let me go and declare thy name to Nin-ki-gal, the queen of Hades.'

The keeper then tells the queen of Hades of Istar's arrival and she is admitted through the seven gates.

The first gate he made her enter, and shut it; he threw down the mighty crown of her head.
'Why, O keeper, hast thou thrown down the mighty crown of my head?'
'Enter, O Lady, for thus are the orders of Allat.'
The second gate he made her enter and he shut it; he threw away the ear-rings of her ears.

At the third gate she loses her necklace of precious stones, at the fourth the ornaments of her breast, at the fifth the gemmed girdle of her waist, at the sixth the bracelets of her hands and her feet, at the seventh the cincture of her body.

Allat (=Nin-ki-gal), the queen of the underworld, then gives instructions to Namtar, the plague-demon, to torment and afflict Istar, and she appears to be held captive below. Meanwhile on the surface of the earth the passion of love is in abeyance, men and beasts cease to reproduce their kinds, and all life is threatened with extinction. An appeal is made to the god Ea, who responds by sending a messenger to the nether regions:

Ea in the wisdom of his heart formed (a man):
He created Atsu-su-namir, the androgyne;
'Go, Atsu-su-namir, towards the gate of Hades set thy face;
Let the seven gates of Hades be opened before thee.'

Allat, the queen of Hades, is reluctant to release anyone from her domain, but cannot resist the divine messenger and gives orders to Namtar to pour over Istar the waters of life. She is then conducted through the seven gates again, and her adornments are restored to her as she returns. It is only towards the end of the poem that Tammuz is mentioned:

If she (i.e. Allat) has not given thee that for which the ransom is paid her, turn back to her again
For Tammuz the bridegroom of thy youth.
Pour over him the pure waters, anoint him with precious oil.

There are a number of other Babylonian versions of the story and in others it is made clear that Istar goes into the underworld to revive and to bring back Tammuz. The versions seem to fall into two classes and a certain amount of confusion results from this. In some accounts Tammuz is slain and Istar goes to the realm of the dead to rescue him thence or else obtain the water of life to revive him[2]. In others, as in the hymn quoted above, Tammuz

[2] See S. H. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, and D. White, *Descent of Ishtar*.

is not prominent, and Istar herself is imprisoned in the land of the dead until a Deliverer comes and brings her back. It is difficult to make a rigid division, for the two versions shade into one another and they also at times coalesce with other myths and motifs.

The lament for Tammuz is mentioned once or twice in the Old Testament and we need a knowledge of the myth in question to understand these passages: *Ezekiel,* viii, 14, "Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house which was toward the north; and behold, there sat the women weeping for Tammuz." This is the clearest reference, but the same practice is mentioned in *Zechariah,* xii, 11; "In that day shall there be a great mourning in Jerusalem, as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon." Rimmon was a kind of doublet of Tammuz, and his untimely death was mourned in the plain of Jezreel. Hadad was regarded as identical with Tammuz. The mourning for 'the only son' in *Amos,* viii, 10, and the similar lamentation in *Jeremiah,* xxii, 18, are explained by some authorities in the light of the annual lament for Tammuz (or Adonis). The Jews still fast on the 17th day of their month of Tammuz[3] and according to M. Jastrow, "Houtsma has shown that the association of the day with the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans, represents merely the attempt to give an ancient festival a worthier interpretation."[4]

Istar is mentioned in the Old Testament under the name Ashtoreth. It appears that in Phoenicia the name became Astart, and the Hebrews took this name and gave it the vowels of Bosheth (abomination) so that it became Ashtoreth. (The LXX has Astartē.) The name occurs in *Judges,* ii, 13; x, 6; 1 *Samuel,* vii, 3-4; xii, 10; xxxi, 10; 1 *Kings,* xi, 5 and 33; 2 *Kings,* xxiii, 13[5]. The Queen of Heaven spoken of in *Jeremiah,* vii, 18 and xliv, 17, 19, is also Istar.

The story of Tammuz and Istar assumed many different forms as it travelled westwards, but the basic similarities can always be seen in such versions as have come down to us. In Phoenicia, Tammuz was worshipped under the name Adoni, which is simply the Semitic word for Lord. In course of time Adoni or Adonis is accepted as a proper name, and his partner becomes known to the Greeks as Aphrodite (corresponding to the Latin Venus), and so Tammuz and Istar become known in Hellas as Adonis and Aphrodite. That Aphrodite had a Phoenician origin was well recognized in the ancient world. Shakespeare's 'Venus and Adonis' is a late descendant of the classical version of the story and, while it has no reference to the realm of the dead, this latter theme is prominent in another classical version, the lovely story of Demeter

3 See Mishnah, *Taanith* 4, 5-6 (Danby, p. 200).
4 Quoted in J. G. Frazer's *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (1906) p. 7.
5 Most of these give the plural form, Ashtaroth.

and Persephone. Persephone is allowed to spend so many months each year on the earth and the remaining months in Hades; and this symbolizes the alternation of the seasons, the death of winter and the new life of spring. Sir J. G. Frazer writes concerning Demeter and Persephone:

> Substantially their myth is identical with the Syrian one of Aphrodite (Astarte) and Adonis, the Phrygian one of Cybele and Attis, and the Egyptian one of Isis and Osiris. In the Greek fable, as in its Asiatic and Egyptian counterparts, a goddess mourns the loss of a loved one, who personifies the vegetation, more especially the corn, which dies in winter to revive in spring. . . .[6]

Though the original reference of the story in its various forms was to the life of nature, at several stages its significance was widened to include the souls of the dead. One thinks of the association of Demeter and Persephone with the Eleusinian mysteries and their promise of a happy immortality, or of the later cult of Isis. Indeed in the ancient Babylonian hymn with which we began, Istar threatens to "raise up the dead to devour the living; above the living the dead shall exceed in number."

The Christian legend of the Harrowing of Hell, which describes our Lord's descent after His crucifixion into the realms of the dead to rescue the souls imprisoned there, seems to be connected ultimately with the descent of Istar and its wider applications. Is it accidental that on one hand we have Istar seeking the water of life to revive Tammuz; and on the other hand Christ, in one version of the Harrowing of Hell, pouring upon the inhabitants of the underworld "the water of life and forgiveness and salvation from all evil"?[7] The sentence from which this quotation is taken begins:

> For to that end went I down unto the place of Lazarus, and preached unto the righteous and the prophets, that they might come out of the rest which is below and come up into that which is above; and I poured out upon them the water of life. . . .

Again is it mere coincidence that in both stories prominence is given to the gates and the bars? In the case of Istar we read that when she arrived at the gate of Hades she cried, "Open thy gate that I may enter! If thou openest not the gate . . . . I will smite the door, the bolt I will shatter, I will smite the threshold and pass through the portals. I will raise up the dead . . . ." A feature of the Harrowing of Hell is the actual fulfilment of these threats. "He (i.e. Christ) wrought havoc in Hell, breaking the doors, binding

[6] *Golden Bough*, one volume edition, p. 393.

[7] *Epistle of the Apostles*, xxvii. M. R. James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 494.

the demons . . . . and delivered Adam and the holy souls" (*Book of the Resurrection of Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle*)[8]. Again, in the *Acts of Pilate*[9]: "the gates of brass were broken in pieces and the bars of iron were ground to powder, and all the dead that were bound were loosed from their chains." The references in our Easter hymns to Christ bursting the gates of Hell are perhaps a reflection of this feature.

Bousset in his *Religion des Judentums* brings into one context a series of descents to Hades, including the descent of Christ (Harrowing of Hell); and while he finds the most important factor to be a wide-spread myth about Primal Man, it is of interest for our present purpose that he includes also the descent of Istar[10].

Clearer evidence of the persistence of the Istar myth is to be found in Gnosticism, where the lost Wisdom corresponds to the Babylonian goddess. Wisdom, conceived of as a female figure, is known sometimes as Sophia and sometimes as Achamoth, the Greek and Hebrew words for wisdom respectively. Some of the fantastic concepts we meet in Gnosticism become more intelligible when this background is understood. The Babylonian idea that Istar was mother of the seven planets also re-appears in Gnosticism and its mention of Wisdom as mother of the Hebdomad[11]. This is rather a long story and the details have been well set out by Anz in his *Ursprung des Gnostizismus*[12]. It will be remembered that in some of the ancient forms of the legend Istar was for a time held captive and needed herself to be rescued. The account of her suffering and deliverance answers to the story of Helen and Simon in one well-known branch of Gnosticism and to the lost Wisdom in others. To the Gnostic the earth itself was the lower world, and just as the deliverer, going to the rescue of Istar, had to pass through the seven gates of Hades, so the Gnostic Saviour must pass the seven planetary spheres on his way to the earth.

According to Irenaeus's account of the system of Simon Magus (supposed to be the Simon of *Acts*, viii), Helen descended to the lower regions (of space) and generated angels and powers. These powers detained her through jealousy (as Istar was held captive below).

8 M. R. James, 183.

9 Also known as *Gospel of Nicodemus*, M. R. James, 94ff.

10 3rd edition (1926) revised by H. Gressmann, 355n: Mit der Vorstellung vom Urmenschen scheint die Hadesfahrt (Christi) verbunden gewesen zu sein. Vgl. die Visionen des Menschensohnes in IV Es 13 und Apc Jo 1, die Höllenfahrt des Hibil-Ziwa bei den Mandäern, den Kriegzug, des Urmenschen gegen das Reich der Finsternis in der manichäischen Spekulation, das Hinabsinken des Urmenschen in die Hyle im Poimandres und hierher gehörige sonstige gnostische Spekulationen, weiterhin den babylonischen Mythus von der Höllenfahrt der Istar.

11 Cf. Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, i, 30, 4: "Thus was the Hebdomad completed, the mother possessing the eighth place . . . ."; 9: "They maintain that the holy Hebdomad is the seven stars which they call planets."

12 Texte und Untersuchungen, xv, 4. See also Bousset's *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*.

> She suffered all kinds of contumely from them, so that she could not return upwards to her father, but was even shut up in a human body, and for ages passed in succession from one female body to another, as from vessel to vessel. She was, for example, in that Helen on whose account the Trojan war was undertaken. Thus she, passing from body to body, and suffering insults in every one of them, at last became a common prostitute; and she it was that was meant by the lost sheep[13].

Irenaeus then goes on to describe Simon's descent from heaven to rescue Helen from her degradation and to free her from her captivity. The salvation of mankind is somehow involved in her deliverance. Simon "descended, transfigured and assimilated to powers and principalities and angels, so that he might appear among men to be a man."

The Ophites and Sethians also, according to Irenaeus, spoke of the lost Wisdom, of Sophia being lost in the depths[14], and of the Deliverer coming down to her rescue. Here the attempt to connect the system with Christ is clearer:

> When he recognized her (i.e. the Sophia below), her brother descended to her, and announced his advent through means of John, and prepared the baptism of repentance, and adopted Jesus beforehand, in order that on Christ descending he might find a pure vessel. . . . They further declare that he descended through the seven heavens, having assumed the likeness of their sons, and gradually emptied them of their power. For they maintain that the whole besprinkling of light rushed to him, and that Christ, descending to this world, first clothed his sister Sophia (with it).

The descent through the seven heavens is reminiscent of the seven portals in the Babylonian hymn with which we began; the phrase which says that he "first clothed his sister" may refer to another item in the same story, though this cannot be pressed[15].

The Gnostic use of the Hebrew term for Wisdom, Achamoth, shows pretty clearly that Gnosticism in some of its forms already existed in pre-Christian Judaism. Why the female element corresponding to Istar should be identified with Wisdom is not altogether clear, but recent researches have helped us to a better understanding on this point. The personified Wisdom of the *Book of Proverbs* is of course presented there as a female figure, and there is reason to believe that this Old Testament conception did not originate without some influence from the Babylonian Istar. This is the conclusion of Gustav Boström's *Proverbiastudien* (Lund, 1935), which has a

[13] Irenaeus, i, 23, 2.
[14] Irenaeus, i, 30, 3.
[15] Et descendentem Christum in hunc mundum induisse primum sororem suam Sophiam et exultasse utrosque refrigerantes super invicem et hoc esse sponsum et sponsam definiunt. (Iren., i, 30, 12.)

section on Wisdom and the Strange Woman. I take my information concerning this from O. S. Rankin's book *Israel's Wisdom Literature* (1936), which gives in the closing chapter on 'The Figure of Wisdom' a full account of Boström's view. He thinks that the 'strange woman' of *Proverbs,* ii-vii, is a foreigner who invites the young Israelite to be her partner in the fertility cult which has its well-known prototype in the worship of Istar or Astarte. It has long been noticed that the personified Wisdom is a foil to the Woman of Folly (*Proverbs,* vii-viii), and Boström thinks that the Jewish figure of Wisdom in viii, 22ff. is "a compensation for the dethroned Astarte," who from the point of view of Judaism might be said to be 'the Woman of Folly' herself. No more is suggested than that this contrast provides "one of the roots" of the Jewish conception of Wisdom. Rankin himself thinks that Asha (one of the Amesha Spentas of Iranian thought) is of more importance in connection with Wisdom; but he admits that "much could be advanced in support of the view that Wisdom is no other than Istar purified and converted to Judaism,"[16]

The seven pillars of Wisdom (*Proverbs,* ix, 1) cannot be explained on the basis of Asha but they can be explained from the Babylonian background of the Istar cult. The word translated pillars ('ammud) also means 'stage' or 'platform', and could well refer to the well-known tower of Babel (Babylon) described by Herodotus (i, 181). This had seven terraces or towers, one above another, with the house of life at the top. The seven terraces stood for the seven planets, and the house of life was probably associated with Istar, the mother of the planets[17].

It would take us too far afield to go further into this fascinating side-line whose immediate purpose is to explain the connexion between the Descent of Istar and the fall of Wisdom in Gnosticism, and to suggest why the name Wisdom was specially fitting in the Gnostic reminiscences of the Istar myth.

An interesting verse in the Vulgate of *Ecclesiasticus* may possibly be another illustration of the way in which the personified Wisdom of Jewish thought assumed the functions of Istar, including the descent to Hades: "I will enter into all the lower parts of the

[16] C. H. Dodd has an interesting footnote on p. 85 of his great book, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel,* in the course of which he says, "Wisdom was too easily represented as a kind of Jewish counterpart of Isis or the Syrian Astarte. She was recalled to safe and orthodox paths by being identified with Torah. . . ." Dodd is, of course, not discussing the origin of the personified Wisdom but later Rabbinic reactions.

[17] The persistence of the number seven will be noticed. The Gnostic Naasenes spoke of the "seven mantles of ethereal texture (for so they call the planetary stars, allegorizing and denominating them ethereal robes)", and they referred to Isis as "her of the seven dresses and sable robe" (Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies,* 5, 2). The dance of the seven veils, in Richard Strauss's opera "Salome" and elsewhere, appears to be another form of the Istar story.

earth and look upon all who sleep there and shine upon all who hope in the Lord" (xxiv, 25). Wisdom is the speaker throughout this chapter. There are a number of verses, however, which do not belong to the original version and which cannot therefore be dated with certainty; verse 25 is one of these.

It will be noticed that in more than one of the Gnostic accounts, when the Saviour descends to this lower world through the seven heavens, he assimilates himself to the spirits who live in each of them, so that he is unrecognized. His glory diminishes at each stage. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this ultimately goes back to the progressive descent of Istar through the seven gates of Hades and her gradual spoliation. In the Christian chapters of the *Ascension of Isaiah*[18], whose Gnostic character is sometimes denied but seems fairly clear, the descent of the Lord Christ through the seven heavens is described in detail. At most of them he becomes "like the form of the angels" who dwell there:

> And I saw when He descended into the fifth heaven, that in the fifth heaven He made Himself like unto the form of the angels there, and they did not praise Him (nor worship Him); for His form was like unto theirs. And then He descended into the fourth heaven, and made Himself like unto the form of the angels there. And when they saw Him, they did not praise Him or laud Him; for His form was like unto their form, and again I saw when He descended into the third heaven. And those who kept the gate of the third heaven demanded the password, and the Lord gave (it) to them in order that He should not be recognized . . . . etc. (x, 20ff.).

Two further observations may be made before we leave the *Ascension of Isaiah*. (i) The Son of God passes unknown through the realms of angels and powers who are regarded as hostile. This doctrine of the disguised and unknown Christ opens up a whole department of thought which can only be mentioned in passing here as it is a separate subject in itself. Dibelius in his *Geisterwelt des Paulus* gives a lot of attention to this aspect of the *Ascension of Isaiah* and he connects it with St. Paul's teaching in 1 *Corinthians*, ii, 8. It is however important to notice that Paul says it was the wisdom of God "which none of the rulers of this world knoweth: for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory." Paul does *not* say that the Lord Himself was unrecognized by the rulers of this world. But this latter idea played a prominent part both in Gnosticism and in more orthodox circles[19]. (ii) The *Ascension of Isaiah* affirms that after His destruction of the angelic world-rulers Christ ascended through the heavens without

[18] Our concern here is with chapters vi-xi (known as the Vision of Isaiah) which belong to the Christian sections of this work.

[19] Cf. Ignatius, *Ephesians*, xix.

any disguise at all. It is different, however, with Isaiah himself; he is supposed to have been translated to heaven during his life-time and to have seen these visions of the advent of Christ. Of himself he says: "the glory of my appearance was undergoing transformation as I ascended to each heaven in turn."

In the foregoing passages which deal with the Incarnation we have been mainly concerned with heretical writings and tendencies. Is it possible to find the same kind of imagery in orthodox writers? This is a difficult question to answer, for anyone describing the coming of a Divine Saviour to the world is bound to use the kind of language Paul uses in 2 *Corinthians,* viii, 9 ("though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor"). The very word 'emptied' in *Philippians,* ii, 7, naturally reminds one of the pictures of descent we have been discussing, even though no such association is likely to have been in the mind of the apostle. It is interesting to note that according to Lightfoot the meaning of this phrase is that He *divested* Himself of the glories, the prerogatives of Deity; He "emptied, *stripped Himself of the insignia of majesty.*" This is precisely what Istar did! But it is impossible to believe that any such parallel entered St. Paul's thoughts.

It is not likely that George Herbert had ever heard of the descent of Istar. All the more remarkable are his verses carrying the characteristically quaint title 'The Bag':

Hast thou not heard, that my Lord Jesus died?
Then let me tell thee a strange story.
The God of power, as He did ride
In His majestic robes of glory,
Resolv'd to light; and so one day
He did descend, undressing all the way.

The stars his tire of light and rings obtained,
The cloud his bow, the fire his spear,
The sky his azure mantle gain'd.
And when they ask'd, what he would wear,
He smil'd, and said as he did go,
He had new clothes a-making here below.

POSTSCRIPT. Nothing has been said in the foregoing about the *Song of Solomon* which some scholars regard as a revised Tammuz-Istar liturgy. On this theory (which is far from convincing) several passages reflect the descent of Istar and her search in the underworld for the dead god, e.g. v, 6-7: "I sought him but I could not find him; I called him, but he gave me no answer. The watchmen that go about the city found me, They smote me, they wounded me; The keepers of the walls took away my mantle from me." See H. R. Ranston's *The Old Testament Wisdom Books,* 205ff.

WHAT REMAINS FOR THE MODERN HYMN-WRITER TO DO?

By Erik Routley, M.A., B.D., D.Phil.

Perhaps there is something to be said for an article on hymn-writing by one who can lay his hand on his heart and swear that, if his next meal depended on it, he could not write a hymn. These observations are made with great diffidence; they are experimental rather than dogmatic, and they presuppose only a concern and love for the sacred art of hymn-writing and an admiration for its practitioners in this age as well as in the past.

One way and another, our editor of the new *Julian* will have to take account of about half a million hymns—even if that number includes those he must decide not to notice. To judge by the turnover of the Hymn Society's file, at least one hymn is being written by an Englishman, in this present age, every week. Our concern here is to find, if it be possible, the main stream of great hymnody which runs clearly through the vast ocean of hymnody in general. I am persuaded that that metaphor will do; the stream of great hymnody in the past is as clearly discernible as is the Gulf Stream in the Atlantic. The question for the hymn-writer of the present day is, of course, whether he is in the Gulf Stream, whether he is in the ocean at large, or whether, if we may boldly suggest it, he has drifted into the Sargasso Sea.

Like John Calvin, we must admit reprobation but attend to salvation. It is a good thing to recall the great things of the past, and to examine the distinctions of our fathers. If we do that, perhaps we shall be able to make a few tentative indications of the direction in which the stream is now flowing. Where are the great hymns and what made them great?

Not to go further back than Watts, you will find in Watts an epitome of the whole story. You will find the ocean of utility stuff that has had its uses and is now worn out; some of it still gets printed, but probably would have been dropped if it had not Watts's name on it. Of this kind I venture to suggest that 'Lord of the worlds above,' his version of Psalm 84, is a fair example—blameless indeed, but not much above the general eighteenth century level. Then there is the driftwood which was not even included among the four hundred or so in the original *Congregational Hymn Book*, and is suitable now only for ribald quotation. But the stream, the warm and strong stream, is distinguishable indeed. 'When I

survey', 'There is a land of pure delight', 'Give me the wings of faith', 'Jesus shall reign'—these need no eulogy here. Charles Wesley is in exactly the same case. And in both authors there are great things which have never been popular, and can never be, but which provide illustrations of mastery the more lucid because of their freshness and freedom from congregational convention. To take but one verse from each, consider this from Watts's 'Nature with open volume' (*Congregational Praise* 129):

> Here His whole Name appears complete:
> Nor wit can guess, nor reason prove
> Which of the letters best is writ,
> The power, the wisdom, or the love.

Or (I cannot resist it) this from 'We give immortal praise' (*Congregational Praise* 220):

> Where reason fails with all her powers,
> There faith prevails, and love adores.

And from Wesley:

> Thy goodness and thy truth to me,
> To every soul, abound,
> A vast, unfathomable sea,
> Where all our thoughts are drowned.

From these the stream flows on. Montgomery's 'Lift up your heads, ye gates of brass'; Kelly's, 'The head that once was crowned'; Milman's, 'Ride on, ride on in majesty'; Binney's, 'Eternal Light!'; Stone's, 'The Church's one foundation'—consider these, which there is no need here to quote, and will you not agree that they have not merely popularity, not merely excellence of craftsmanship, but *distinction*, a luminous, individual greatness that marks them out and gathers them together in a community of splendour? Is it not hymns like these that lift hymnody out of the commonplace, and assure it a place of merit and eminence from which it can direct and reconcile the powerful forces of theology and culture?

Now the humblest of modern hymn-writers is not human if he does not aspire to find himself in that stream. He wants to write what will help, and what will last. Similarly your modern editor wants to find, from the present and the past, work of enduring distinction.

The late Stephen Leacock published a capital little book in 1944 entitled *How to Write*. Not the least interesting of its chapters, as you might expect, is that headed, 'How to write Humour'. A sentence from that chapter is very much to the present point. "If you examine comic verse," he says, "with a view to writing it, you will see that the essence of its literary appeal lies in the extraordinary

correctness, aptness and simplicity of its words and phrases." He goes on to show by quotations how true this is of all great comic verse, and how a good effort can be killed by a single pretentious line. That, I believe, is just what we want here. Read Wesley and Watts and Doddridge and Montgomery at their greatest, and what do you see in their use of words but *correctness, aptness* and *simplicity?* And we may as well say flatly and without reserve that of any ten bad hymns, or second-rate hymns, you care to examine, nine will certainly be found to be depressed to the second class simply by reason of their misuse of language. The language may be too topical, too much 'of its age.' The eighteenth century hymn writers (as Canon Briggs has often, and to my gratitude, pointed out to me) were fond of metaphors from trade. 'Transaction', 'interest', and similar words we usually forgive in the greatest hymns that make use of them, but no doubt they provide an impediment to popular understanding, and contribute to the obscurity of the many unknown hymns that contain them. The 'worms', which in Watts provide such diverting images for modern men, are another clear case of bondage to contemporary language. These words are not essentially 'simple.' The classic and impregnable defence against the drift of language is, of course, to make use, when you want vividness, of the language of Scripture; and this is very well, provided you are not enslaving yourself to the verbal tricks of the Authorized Version. For although that has been a sheet-anchor of pious diction for three hundred years, radical alterations are likely in our religious talking-habits as a result of the revisions already done in America and projected in this country. For enduring greatness you will have to rely on the *thought* of Scripture rather than on the shifting and unreliable ground of seventeenth century *words*. 'Come, O thou Traveller' will, one feels, survive the searching tests of revised translations;[1] the line "let priest and people weep" (a reference to the A.V. of Joel, ii, 17) may not. A certain amount of conventional reference in modern hymns to 'my heart,' though thoroughly Scriptural, tends towards indirectness and a lack of simplicity; I doubt whether the writer gains anything by saying 'my heart' when he means nothing more than 'I.'

But to put the converse, I think there are many hymns which are raised from mediocrity to inspiration by a couple of lines that show "correctness, aptness and simplicity" of diction and thought. An outstanding example is Lynch's 'O where is He that trod the sea,' in which every verse has, I suppose, at least one poorish line, but which opens all heaven at the couplet,

[1] Except in the line that has already perished—"To me, to all, thy bowels move."

'Twas springtide when He blessed the bread
And harvest when He brake.

Lynch again, in 'Lift up your heads, rejoice,' wrote a passage which throws penetrating light on the doctrine of the Second Coming:

The God of glory comes in gentleness and might,
To comfort and alarm, to succour and to smite.

You have there, I think, not merely this linguistic virtue which Leacock was asking for, but also singular faithfulness to the *thought,* rather than the letter, of Scripture.

Upon this George Every wrote a useful comment in that section of his *Christian Discrimination* (1940) which deals with hymns. "We can no longer assume," says he, "the kind of intimate acquaintance with the Bible which Charles Wesley and Bishop Wordsworth were able to assume." The new translations are going to lend a new point to that comment. But he goes on, "the general level of information, though not of education, is higher than of old." In consequence, he urges that hymn-writers turn to T. S. Eliot, in whom he particularly observes a "power to identify his poetry with the voice of the common Christian through all the ages."

Forgive us, O Lord, we acknowledge ourselves as types of the
Common man.
Of the men and women who shut the door and sit by the fire,
Who fear the blessing of God, the loneliness of the night of God,
The surrender required, the deprivation inflicted,
Who fear the injustice of men less than the justice of God,
Who fear the hand at the window, the fire in the thatch, the
fist in the tavern, the push into the canal,
Less than we fear the love of God.

That is from *Murder in the Cathedral,* and is, of course, rustic and medieval in its context. Yet it has the common mind, and even the contemporary common mind, in it more intimately than you will find in many modern hymns. And above all, it has the simple, apt and correct word all the way, the sinister picture, the luminous image.

Now it ought to be said that all this occurred to some writers a generation and more ago. Robert Bridges, in his Yattendon hymns, led a crusade against the conventionality and dullness of Anglican hymnody of the 'nineties. What is his masterpiece, 'The duteous day,' but a gesture against the evening hymn that is concerned simply with invoking divine aid against bad dreams and things that go bump in the night? Bad dreams are real, and Bridges did not live to see the full horror of what could happen in the nights of 1940. But neither did those whom he attacked. 'The duteous day' is not

merely an exquisite poem; it is a celebration of the astronomic and imponderable beauty of night. I believe Newman had the same thought in 'I loved the garish day,' but I am not sure that any other hymn-writer did before Bridges.

In another way, of course, this is just what that much abused volume *Songs of Praise* tried to do in its day. Whatever may, and indeed must, be said against that book, for this one thing it must be held aloft and praised as the work of brave and Christian men, that it sought to clear away the dead wood in order that the true flower of Christian vocabulary might have room to flourish. That principle was good. *Songs of Praise* shows you with what aptness, correctness and simplicity the great Christian poets of the seventeenth century could speak:—

> O make us apt to seek and quick to find,
> Thou God most kind;
> Give us love, hope and faith in thee to trust,
> Thou God most just;
> Remit all our offences, we entreat,
> Most good, most great;
> Grant that our willing though unworthy quest
> May through thy grace admit us 'mongst the blest.
>
> (*Songs of Praise* 534).

They can still teach the modern and sub-modern poets to breathe fresh air into the stuffiness of conventional Christian diction. Recall this on heaven:

> They come with shining faces to the house of the Lord;
> The broken and the weary that life has racked and scored;
> They come hurrying and singing to sit down at his board,
> They are young and they are joyful in the house of the Lord.
>
> (*Songs of Praise* 196).

The editors of that book ransacked the literature of devotion as far back as Shakespeare and as far forward as Donald Hankey and Studdert Kennedy. (Studdert Kennedy! There was a man for the apt and simple word: a word and a blow with him!) They carried on *The English Hymnal's* work in giving a place to Chesterton and to the Americans, anything—whether it would go to a singable tune or not—to let in the light, anything to forge new tools with cutting edges to replace the old rusty ones.

Much of this was erratic. Some of it was too contemporary to last. Sometimes enthusiasm broke the queue and dogma was kept waiting to be served (as in the last line of Studdert Kennedy's famous hymn about the machines, *Songs of Praise* 698). But when one looks through the modern hymn books of the 'fifties, the question remains—has this gesture of *Songs of Praise* been fully

assessed and appreciated? Do our modern hymn writers want to do this kind of thing, or do they want to carry on in the style of Christopher Wordsworth, in George Every's admiration of whom some of us find it hard to share? I do not at all want to be invidious. I rarely see a hymn by a new author that tells me categorically that he has turned his back on modern needs. I can only say this, that here and there, but not universally and boldly enough, I believe we can discover the course of the stream. John Arlott (*B.B.C.* 435) has it; Timothy Rees (*B.B.C.* 273) has it—and there he is singularly fortunate in Herbert Murrill's music. (All this applies to music too; and the outlook there is, on the whole, bleaker than in the area we must here keep to.) I find no new lines in the revised *Hymns Ancient and Modern,* but I do find a few tunes, that encourage hope. There is nothing, I think, in the revised Public School Book. I make bold to offer a few hymns in *Congregational Praise,* but only one tune, that are cutting ice in the way I want. Hymns 348, by Arthur Driver, 532 by Henry Carter, 117 by Canon Briggs, 342 by Elvet Lewis, and perhaps a few others; and I think we must find a place for one tune—the first to hymn 21. I have not room to quote these, and judgments may differ. One or two fresh and challenging hymns may be found quoted in the pages of my *Hymns and Human Life,* should anybody care to consult it.

No human writer achieves very often that life-giving power that is the concern of this paper. Yet no generation has passed without producing some clear indication of it. It is, I think, useless to try more specifically to isolate its constituents. We can say that blunted, journalistic, careless writing is a cardinal sin. We can say that narrowness of vision and specialization of devotional sympathy are sins. We can say that shockable conventionality is a sin. We can discern these, and fight them when we see them. But we can be thankful for that disciplined simplicity, that athletic clarity, which lifts the truly great out of the common run, and we can urge that it be cultivated. That is the writer's business. I am here content merely to draw attention to it.

THE ORGANIST AS A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL

By David Goodall, M.A.

What I have to say about the organist's work falls, very conveniently, into two parts; one fairly obvious and also fairly important; the other not so obvious and I think very much more important. To begin with, the organist is in a position to provide the very best music he knows for the edification of the congregation. He has knowledge—or should have—of just those works which are likely to inspire reverence and awe and humility and thankfulness, exactly the sort of response that should be evoked by the preaching of the Gospel, and by great music finely played and sung. In this respect the organist shares with the preacher the advantage of having no competition in his own sphere.

Just as the preacher is, within reason, at liberty to say whatever he wants to say, and to say it, generally, without interruption, so the organist is in a position to play what he wants to play, and the congregation more or less has to listen. Of course there are people who chatter or walk out during the voluntary, just as there are people who slumber, either ostentatiously or unobtrusively, during the sermon. But generally speaking if the organist wants to play Bach's Chorale Preludes during the offertory he can do so uninterrupted.

There is, in fact, a clear role for him to fulfil, in which he is commissioned to offer the very best that he knows. He is the musical specialist, presenting music's interpretation of the majesty and the holiness and the tenderness of God.

Now to do this he needs technical competence and adequate resources, as well as natural taste and ability; and I suppose that, on the whole, Anglican organists fare better than most of us in these respects. We are nearly always short of the second requirement—adequate resources of instrument and skilled choirs—even if we have enough of the technical competence and the necessary musicianship. It is no slight on our musical ability—and I do not think we need have any feelings of inferiority about it—to admit that this side of the organist's work in the preaching of the Gospel is done supremely well in Anglican cathedrals, and though we may emulate that sort of thing here and there, we shall never surpass it. Let us be thankful that this thing is being done, even if not, for the most part, by us, and leave it at that.

But I come immediately to the other aspect of the organist's work, and I mention it second and not first chiefly in order to forestall a certain kind of criticism. I want to enlarge on it at some length, but briefly and crudely my point is that the organist's chief job is to play hymns. Now there are a good many ministers who will say that, and many would say it obstinately and offensively if need be, believing that organists as a tribe perpetually try to encroach on what does not concern them, and seek to turn services into concerts; so that at all costs they must be kept firmly in their places.

There are, I dare say, many ministers who would like to see the organist disappear on the hydraulic lift, like his counterpart in the cinema, except for brief appearances during the hymns; and while I daresay the feeling is often mutual between organist and minister, there are probably some organists, as well as some ministers, who deserve that kind of treatment. So when I say that the organist's chief job is to play the hymns, I must make it clear that I am not putting him in his place in the sense of keeping him down, but in the sense of lifting him up.

It is not because I hold a low view of 'pure' organ playing and liturgical singing that I make this point: I have tried to indicate already the importance I give to that side of his work. But it is because I have an even higher view of hymn-singing and accompaniment that I make this the chief point of this paper. I am writing of the organist as a *Minister* of the Gospel, and I presume to recall that as Congregationalists we have a distinctive view of the Ministry. We are not content with a specialist—an arid theologian writing abstract treatises or a priest performing mysterious and solitary rites in a monastic chapel. These things may have their place, but we do not call them an adequate Ministry of the Word and Sacraments. We are not even satisfied with the more popular Roman or High Anglican preaching; where the Gospel is not so esoteric, where it is simpler and clearer, expressed in popular language or good music, but still done as a superb piece of showmanship, a pure demonstration of the drama of the Gospel, done *by* the priest *for* the congregation. That sort of thing is worth doing, and its technical standards are something to challenge us, but we still do not call it a sufficient Ministry of the Word, and we view with grave suspicion of witchcraft the doctrine of the Sacraments which it seems to imply. No, what we expect in our churches is that the congregation shall be the unit of worship as it is the unit of church order and discipline and administration and everything else. We may resent being made to say the creeds, but we are very indignant, and rightly so, if we are not allowed to join in the hymns. And I think the organist must be prepared for a kind

of criticism which is often and readily and rightly applied to the minister. A man may preach a very profound and moving sermon but, if his congregation cannot understand it, he has wasted his time, even if he did do it devoutly and for the glory of God. If the congregation has not been edified, then God has not been glorified; at any rate, that is the basis of our proper criticism of long-winded sermons. And, furthermore, if a minister preaches a simple, clear and telling sermon and his congregation cannot hear it, then he also has failed. It is no good the Word being sharper than a two-edged sword if it does not reach the heart of the person it is being pointed at. We rightly criticize a minister for being unintelligible or inaudible. Organists are not often criticized for being inaudible, though I have known organists one could wish were inaudible more often. But I do not mean the parallel to be taken quite literally. I mean that just as the minister's chief task, in preaching, is to get the Gospel, by some means or other, into the minds and hearts of his listeners, never mind by what art or artlessness, so the organist's main task in worship is to help the congregation to respond to the Gospel, never mind by what skill or stratagem. To speak quite practically, if you play a new tune, however good it is, unless the congregation does (eventually) respond more wholeheartedly through it than they would have done through the old one, you have failed to do anything permanently worth-while.

That leads me to an extension of my main point, and one that I speak of with some diffidence as it takes us outside the strictly musical sphere altogether. If you will grant me even a partial truth in this contention for the primacy of hymn-playing as the organists' work, then that truth, I think, does lead on to another.

Let us approach it from this point of view. If you look through the composers' index in half a dozen different hymnals, the immediately obvious thing about them is how few great composers are represented in them. Of course there are not many great composers anyway, and not all of them have ever written hymn-tunes. But if you selected a couple of dozen, or even a couple of score, of the best hymn-tunes, the chances are that you would not have any of the great classical or modern composers represented. Now why? Partly for the technical reason that the hymn-tune is a peculiar art-form with very rigid rules of composition; and skill in scoring symphonies or operas just does not count in this very specialized medium. Not many great painters would make first-class photographers, for the same kind of technical reason. But there is another reason that I think is not less important. A hymn-tune does not mean anything without its words. Imagine trying to stage a public concert at which twelve of the best and most popular hymn-tunes should be played, each one six times through, by the

Griller Quartet. How many hymn-lovers, even, would sit through that? But if those same tunes were to be sung by the Royal Choral Society or the choir of the Temple Church, the effect would be totally different. And to have those same twelve hymns played by a Salvation Army band, with the audience joining in the singing, would probably fill the Albert Hall.

I know I have merely taken a long time to say that the words are as important as the tune of a hymn but, for the organist, it is not such a truism as it sounds. For if I am right in suggesting that the organist does not merely accompany the congregation, but is responsible for urging them by every technical skill and device he commands (and there are many of them) to make the hymn a full and heartfelt response to the Gospel—if that be the organist's task, then he will have to read the words of the hymn for himself. And reading them will not be enough. There are some hymns which cannot be sung to order, however good the choir, and however obedient the congregation. Take, for example, the tune Walsall, set in *Congregational Praise* to the hymn, 'Alas, and did my Saviour bleed?'. Now I consider that to be a very beautiful and tender little tune, well worth its inclusion on musical grounds. But I do not believe it can be properly sung, at any rate with those words, except by people who are actually prepared to feel what the writer calls "Godly sorrow at the sufferings of Christ."

You can easily overdo this sort of thing and turn it into sloppy sentimentality, but I believe that you are only trifling with a hymn like this unless, at least once, you have sung this verse with tears in your eyes—

> Was it for crimes that *I* had done
> He groaned upon the tree?
> Amazing pity! grace unknown!
> And love beyond degree!

Now it is the minister's responsibility, of course, and not the organist's, to bring people to that point of experience of the Gospel. There is much that organists and choirmasters can do as such, but it is, of course, primarily a minister's job. That, I may say, is one reason why some ministers of my acquaintance have left the organ stool for the pulpit—precisely because that supremely important job has to be done largely in ways that only a minister can tackle. But the organist remains the musical leader of the church, and if the emphasis on hymns I have suggested is the right one, and if hymn-singing is what I have tried to suggest it is, then the organist will have to be the first person in the church on whom the minister can rely to have read and understood and experienced what the words of a hymn are saying. He should be, in respect of the hymns,

what our best deacons often are in respect of prayer—the one person who the minister knows for certain will make and lead a spiritual response to what he himself is doing in preaching and in praying; and without that kind of antiphonal worship our congregational services, however perfect musically, are bound to be as dull as ditchwater.

I have one last point, less urgent perhaps, but not finally less important. Every now and then—once a year perhaps, or even less often—something happens at a church service which cannot be described or accounted for, and may be experienced by only one or two people. I can best describe it by saying that occasionally "the heavens open," and as a rule the experience is both unpredictable and unrepeatable. I have known it happen to me sometimes during the Sanctus of the B minor Mass. I have also experienced it in hymn-singing—for example in the last couplet of the hymn, 'Join all the Glorious Names' to Croft's 136th, and again during one of the hymns at my ordination, where there were obvious reasons for special excitement. I believe that it happens to a great many people when they are singing 'Cwm Rhondda,' and though that tune has never moved me to tears, I am very willing to believe that others have been mightily lifted by it. Now I mention this because, although no one can produce that experience by design (and it is highly undesirable that they should), it is one of the means of awakening and renewing faith for a great many people; the more valuable when it is entirely genuine and spontaneous. The organist cannot plan it, but he can, and I think that he should be prepared for it. There are points—musically obvious points—in a great many hymns and anthems and voluntaries, where the heavens *can* open and sometimes do; and although we may wait patiently for years beside the altar and nothing happens, it is the reward of faithful watching that the fire from heaven does come down, if only when we are least expecting it. Preachers know that only too well—and organists must expect it, too. Now it is not a condition that the organist should be perpetually striving after effect—but it is a condition that he should always be ready to find someone striking fire out of his playing or the choir's singing, and to have something in reserve, so that at that unmistakable moment he gives it everything he has got; and it may be the heavens will open for him as well as for his hearers.

OUR UNKNOWN UNIVERSE

By Katharine M. Wilson, M.A., Ph.D.

Science, which in the nineteenth century undermined belief in a spiritual factor in life, is in this century undermining the materialistic view which it helped to establish. Whereas in the last century scientists seemed to study objective facts in an unbiased way, we now realize that there is no such thing as an objective fact. Our knowledge is relative not only to what we discover about facts but to our own human set-up. Fundamental axioms appear not as absolute truths, but as indications of the way our minds work.

Researchers in the last thirty years have altered our ideas about matter, time and space. Dr. Martin Johnson in his Eddington Memorial Lecture for 1952 shows that mathematical calculations reveal a choice. Either time-scales alter with age while space and matter are static, in which case the universe must have existed from infinity; or else time is uniform, and space and matter must be regarded as growing, in which case there is continuous creation of matter in an ever expanding universe. In our time-scale formula, he says, "we are merely manipulating a concept for symbolizing the unknowable reason why all experience is serial." In science, he concludes, we make acquaintance only with symbols for an unknown.

This may be paralleled by the discovery of atomic physicists that the furthest analysis of matter reveals spontaneous, uncaused movement of something that does not obey our rules for the behaviour of matter. It is clear that the furthest analysis reveals the non-material, but we have a choice. We may say either that there is some non-material cause for the movements that create matter; or else the movements that create matter are themselves causeless. In either case our theory is a symbol for the unknown. If science keeps within its field of reference, which is an investigation of matter, it cannot explain our universe. Not only are our conceptions of time and space and matter relative to our limitations as human beings, but our idea that everything must have a cause falls under the same uncertainty.

In psychical research, although the general public (that is to say, people approaching it from a personal angle) remain interested in the investigation of whether the spirit survives bodily death, researchers in this field are tackling the nature of *psi*, which we could define as phenomena in human experience which fail to keep

our rules for the physical universe. Such phenomena have a long history which, since they indicate some factor that both science and common-sense left out of the picture, have until recently been either passed over except as good stories, or else denied. But the *Proceedings* of the Society for Psychical Research have voluminous records of verified cases. Precognition is fairly common, particularly dream warnings and visions. We read of such happenings as that of the mother who habitually left her baby in a pram by a railway but, on the day when a train was to crash there, was prevented by a feeling of impending disaster. Telepathy and clairvoyance have been copiously verified. The Society's records show amazingly detailed clairvoyance. A child, who in a country lane suddenly saw her mother at home lying on the floor with a handkerchief by her side in a room not in common use, was so sure of the truth of her impression that she brought the doctor home with her, where they found her mother suffering from a heart attack, every detail of the vision being correct, down to the handkerchief. Even more surprisingly, psychometry has been verified. Some people by feeling an object can perceive facts about its unknown and unseen owner. But in the last twenty-five years experiments of a scientific nature, some of them begun by sceptics to disprove *psi*, reveal facts even more surprising than such spontaneous outbursts of it. We can no longer neglect the researches of Professor J. B. Rhine at Duke University. He has shown not only a fairly widespread ability to "guess" with a more than chance degree of accuracy such simple signs as a cross, a circle, a square on cards turned over by an unseen agent, but also that it is not necessary to have an agent or transmitter. Many people can "guess" with as great accuracy the symbols on a pack of cards shuffled mechanically, and not turned face up until after the "guesses" are recorded. It looks as if what we call "telepathy" and "clairvoyance" may be the same thing, a perception not transmitted through the usual physical channels of the senses. Anyone who reads the actual records must be impressed by the precautions taken to prevent fraud. Some of them seem even pedantic. The experimenter needed to make sure that one cannot shuffle a pack of cards face downwards in such a way that the cards correspond with an unknown order. He tested this only to find that we can assume no such thing; it is possible to shuffle cards so that their order corresponds to a more than chance degree of accuracy with an order which one does not yet know. Indeed the fact that some people are lucky at cards and others not, takes on a new significance. Equally surprising are Rhine's experiments with dice throwing. Some people can pre-determine the fall of dice, and this where the method of "throwing" is mechanically done by some one else. Moreover

the more dice thrown at once, the higher the degree of accuracy. These experiments have now been verified by other experimenters. In the *Proceedings* of the Society for Psychical Research for February, 1951, Dr. R. H. Thouless reports verification of dice throwing. He found that he had "a limited but definite success in influencing the fall of a spun coin." Mr. Whately Carington carried out experiments where his wife determined the fall of dice by psycho-kinesis (to use Rhine's word for transmitting an influence to material things other than through the usual physical channel), and Dr. E. A. G. Knowles was, says Dr. Thouless, "surprised to find that she obtained significant evidence" for such psycho-kinesis. Dr. Knowles undertook the experiment in order to show that nothing but a chance success could possibly result. As Rhine points out, we can now assume that *psi* is a normal phenomenon. Professor C. A. Mace, in the Myers Lecture for 1937, showed that there is nothing unusual in the facts perceived by *psi,* or in the physical results obtained. The mother's heart attack perceived by her daughter had the usual features of heart attacks, and dice can be made by physical means to fall in a certain way. The *psi* factor lies in the method of perception or the method of determining the fall of the dice. What has been demonstrated is a *psi* way of perceiving and a *psi* way of influencing physical objects.

Given the existence of *psi* the problem is to discover the conditions which promote success. Rhine points out that these are psychological, not physical. To succeed one must not be flustered or distracted, but calm and concentrated. Moreover the concentration must be of the relaxed confident sort. We must want to succeed and yet not be anxious to do so. Thus a playful challenge often calls out the faculty. Thouless verified Rhine's observations. He says, "In self-experimenting it has seemed to me that I have not scored well in ESP [extra-sensory perception] or PK [psycho-kinesis] if I am tired, cross or anxious." He concludes:

> There are, however, clear indications of certain things that [one] should avoid. One must avoid increasing the emotional tension of the subject by showing gratification at his success and disappointment at his failure. One must not introduce an atmosphere of tension by maintaining silence during sessions. If witnesses are present they must not be allowed to create tension by maintaining a suspicious attitude or by such behaviour as whispering.

It appears then, that man has a non-sensory and a non-physical faculty of both perceiving objects distant in space and of influencing the movement of such objects. In the mind of man there is some non-material factor that heretofore psychology has failed to note. But the problem does not end here, for matter, too, must

have some non-material relationship with mind for man to be able to use this sort of perception and this sort of influence. Psychical research has set a problem not only for psychologists, some of whom recognize the challenge, but for the physicists also, unless this is the same problem that they have already met in atomic research. Nor does it end even here, for psychical research has proved that it is not only in astronomy and physics that we must reconsider our conception of time, but in the human mind and in the relationship between distant objects and the human mind. Precognition has been verified by scientific experiment. Whately Carington experimented to see whether distance affected clairvoyance, and discovered that his "recipients" in England and in America, who aimed to draw different unseen pictures he set up in his study at a given time on successive days, reproduced with a more than chance accuracy not those in his study on the day when they drew, but those of the day before or *the day after*. This "displacement" made Dr. Soal check an old experiment with Rhine's cards, which had failed to reveal more than a chance result, to discover whether they showed such displacement. The result was positive for some of his subjects who had "guessed" with a more than chance accuracy not the card they were trying to, but either the one before, or the one following. It seems then, as if they could perceive more easily a future card than one turned at their moment of perception. Following this, Rhine experimented with his colleagues at Duke and discovered that some could record with a more than chance accuracy the fall of cards in a pack not yet shuffled. To make sure of his statistics he got statisticians not implicated in his experiments to audit, one might say, his method of calculating results. They vouched for his honesty and competence. It seems that anyone not afraid to face the consequences must admit that the case for precognition, or for what looks like it, has been proved. In other words our common conception of time involves some fallacy. Either our experience of time is not along a continuous unbroken line, or else knowledge of the future lies in some non-material storehouse from which human consciousness can sometimes pilfer. To quote from Rhine's letter at the end of Mr. Alson J. Smith's *Religion and the New Psychology* (Doubleday and Co., New York, 1951):

> The evidence we have from parapsychological researches dealing with such capacities as extra-sensory perception has compelled us to recognize the existence of principles in mental life that do not show the same dependence upon time-space-mass relations that material systems have been found to do.

All *psi* phenomena investigated show a remarkable coherence. They seem to involve some common factor, some non-material

relationship between the human mind and physical objects. It seems clear that both extra-sensory perception and psycho-kinesis have, on the psychological side, the unconscious mind for their medium, or else some factor in the unconscious mind. Conditions favouring success resemble those that favour success in artistic creation where one's attention must be to a certain extent detached from one's normal physical environment, where one must not be distracted by it, where one's mind must have a certain calm receptiveness and where, although one must use one's volition and direct one's attention, one must do so in a manner quite different from one's usage in the affairs of ordinary life. As Thouless says in his article in the *Proceedings* of the Society for Psychical Research, for *psi* activity one must use a sort of "relaxed volition". Moreover not everyone can succeed in either, and yet the ability to succeed is, as Rhine says of *psi* activity, a normal not an abnormal one. One cannot teach either activity; it is an ability that one discovers one possesses. Even so the ability is wayward and cannot be summoned at will. Not only so, the upsurge both of creation and of a clairvoyant vision can suddenly seize one and take possession as if some power outside oneself gripped one. It is significant also that both precognition and clairvoyance or telepathy occur frequently in dreams.

Jung's writings on the unconscious seem to "click" with the findings of psychical research, even if we confine ourselves to those published before he appears to have been influenced by observations of *psi*. The racial unconscious, which he postulates, is common to the whole human family. It is a non-material storehouse whose images and wisdom seem to exist independently of time and space, perhaps even of matter. To place what I have by implication called the *psi* storehouse in the unconscious we need merely add to Jung's racial unconscious the personal unconscious and that latent unconsciousness which we tap in memory. Either all our memories remain intact (or perhaps rather in fluidity than intact) within the common *psi* storehouse, and we have an easy key to our own contribution, or else this personal unconscious is a separate room in the general unconscious with doorways open to the personal rooms of others. Indeed such a theory of the personal unconscious—that it contributes to an imperishable general unconscious—might account for the racial unconscious for which Jung has amassed such impressive evidence. Jung says that it looks as if the racial unconscious may stretch back to pre-human days. By implication one cannot set a date to its origin, nor can one conceive of it as ending while the human race and its descendants last. We might even have to postulate that it stretches back further than life, perhaps to the first created atom. Analytical psychology reveals the

inter-relatedness of what we have been accustomed to think of as separate minds in other ways than through the racial unconscious. It is not only that young children can feel the unconscious tensions of their parents, or that an inter-related unconscious characterizes many husbands and wives, friends and near relations. Dr. Buck in a recent lecture to the Guild of Pastoral Psychology informed us that a group of analysts are at present investigating the frequent dream correspondences of their patients and of themselves, which seem to reveal a sort of common dream-consciousness. Some such phenomenon would account for the facts that led Emerson to suggest an "Over Soul." The *Zeitgeist* may be some actual though non-material entity, not a merely abstract reference to the concrete correspondences which characterize an epoch.

Jung's theory of synchronicity attempts to describe *psi* phenomena, as observed in the daily practice of analysts. He deduces some factor, which he calls synchronicity, from what would appear chance coincidences but for their significance for his patients. Among his examples, that of the golden scarab catches the imagination. A scarab, as near to the golden scarab as is possible in Zurich, knocked at his consulting-room window at the actual moment when his patient was reporting a dream of a golden scarab that would bring healing, and by its apparently magical appearance at that very moment brought an openness of mind to the non-rational in life, through which healing came. If this sort of thing were an isolated incident, no one would consider it other than mere chance. But significant coincidences occur too often in the analysts' practice to be passed over like this. Such occurrences and the results of psychical research must make us review our attitude to chance, for it is now proved capable of behaving in a way that goes contrary to our preconceived laws of chance. If the atom is created by chance movements, and if some unconscious factor in the mind can determine such things as the fall of dice, we must ask whether some non-material factor is at work in all chance. Failing this we must consider whether Jung, on the analogy of the atomic-physicist's "causeless movements", may not have a reasonable basis for calling synchronicity causeless. Either an unconscious, which includes both man's unconscious and the immaterial of the world of physics, must control chance, or else chance is a "causeless activity". Or these may not be exclusive alternatives, for that inclusive unconscious may be the creator of our material universe and of ourselves; then such activities appear chance ones only because their cause lies outside the creation in which we find ourselves.

What might be called the displacement factor in "card guessing" experiments poses another problem. The reason might be one of personal psychology or there might be some other signifi-

cance in "recipients" guessing rather the card before or after the "target" card itself. Since in these experiments the recipient has a few moments to make his guess, it is conceivable that he may never guess the card exposed at the moment of his guess, but only after the moment of its exposure has passed. So far as I know the precise-moment factor has not been investigated. It would be interesting to discover whether we have any proof of extra-sensory perception of what occurs at the precise moment of perception. In other words, were correct "guesses" of the "target" card absolutely simultaneous with it, or did they occur a second or so after? If extra-sensory perception should be a perception only of what is in the unconscious (in the past and future, but not in the precise-present) we should then learn something about consciousness. As we do not know this I perhaps ought to refrain from speculating. One is, however, permitted to speculate, as long as one admits its flimsiness. It seems reasonable to suppose that what is in our conscious mind, or if I may use the phrase, in our conscious moment, cannot at the same time be in our unconscious mind, or our unconscious moment. If it should be shown that a *psi* perception is never one of the conscious moment, it would prove that *psi* resides in the unconscious. It would also indicate the nature of consciousness as psychological separateness. This is already Jung's view. It would be interesting if psychical research should verify it. Then we could say that although in our unconscious we appear to be one with the whole of creation, or related with the immaterial aspect of the universe in a way not dependent on space, time and matter, we are yet separate in our conscious minds, no one being able to read our conscious thought until it has left for the unconscious storehouse. Similarly conscious volition would belong to the separate ego alone, and the whole conscious life with its unique experiencing. But our conscious life would lie on an unconscious sea, in which both its past and its future would be immersed. In *psi* we fish in that sea.

A. N. Whitehead's philosophy allows for such a conception of experience, for it pictures consciousness as a progression of separate moments. In *Adventures of Ideas* he says:

> The individual immediacy of an occasion is the final unity of subjective form, which is the occasion as an absolute reality. This immediacy is its moment of sheer individuality, bounded on either side by essential relativity. The occasion arises from relevant objects, and perishes into the status of an object for other occasions. But it enjoys its decisive moment of absolute self-attainment as emotional unity.

Later he adds:

> Actuality is in its essence a process. This process involves

> a physical side which is the perishing of the past as it transforms itself into a new creation. It also involves a mental side which is the Soul entertaining ideas. . . . A process must be inherent in God's nature, whereby his infinity is acquiring realization.

We might add that perhaps the progressing moments after God's nature is realized regress into it. If this is so we can conceive of our conscious life as contributing its experience to the wisdom of the underlying unconscious. And this again seems good psychology.

Physiologically we can conceive of conscious life as a progression of moments of awareness, and moreover of separate moments, for we are aware in "attention spans". That we perceive in separate units of awareness is easily realized if we watch the eye-movements of someone reading. They progress in from three to five separate jumps along the line, not in a continuous movement. We see what is within the areas of our focus, then move the focus. Moreover we have a pace at which we can receive impressions. Disjunct movements like those in a film which come too quickly appear as a continuous stream, while we cannot see any movement that is too slow, like that of the hands of a watch. So, too, with aural impressions, too fast or too slow a wave-rate goes unperceived. That this is characteristic of the individual consciousness may be seen by the variety in our rate of apprehension, for a bee cannot see such slow movements as we can, while we cannot hear such quick sound waves as some small animals; a whistle can be made that is perfectly audible to small dogs, but inaudible to man. Consciousness is a highly individual thing. Each conscious experience is unique to the experiencer as well as being separate from any other conscious experience at the moment, and incommunicable.

We can, then, describe our conscious life as an individual, flickering progress, subsuming the great unconscious and contributing its unique experience to it. In a healthful and emotionally stable life our conscious relationship with the underlying unconscious is a close and continuing one. It guides, inspires, heals and helps our conscious purposes. If at times it also urges us to destroy and to ruin as well as to create, we are free to resist its suggestion, for we have reason and judgment as conscious guides and helps. We need to balance on the unconscious. If we deny it we suffer from the modern neurotic sense of rootlessness and lack of purpose. It can overwhelm in insanity. But in health it leaves us with free wills in so far as our choices and actions are conscious. It can be prayed to. But as our conscious will is free, so is the unconscious free to answer our appeals with a non-human purpose. Moreover it is not only by means of *psi*, by means of the experience of the analysand, by means of the "possession" of the artist by his art,

that we become aware of the unconscious. By far the greatest influence it has on our conscious life comes through the revelation of the archetypal images of religion. Revealed religion has its place in a true picture of man. History shows that from time to time the old revelations lose their power and new appear. We need to be open to fresh revelations from the unconscious, for it belongs to the future as well as to the past. Failing this the unconscious learns from the experience that falls into it from our lives, and impels us to fresh exploration.

We can say that life is purposive. Man's actions result partly from unconscious and partly from conscious motives. History shows events guided by both. Christianity results from revealed religion. For good and for ill, it has influenced the course of recent history. But purposiveness can be traced back beyond the dawn of man, for evolution is a part of history and many biologists of this century reject mechanistic or behaviourist patterns to explain the actions of animals, and also say that the odds against different species having evolved by chance are astronomical. Evolution can be explained only by presupposing some creative purpose, for the coincidences are too incredibly complex and too patently purposive to arrive by chance. Indeed Professor A. C. Hardy in the *Proceedings* of the Society for Psychical Research for May, 1953, (whose contribution should be studied in detail to be convincing) says that no theory of evolution that does not account for the persistence of homologues can be sound. He puts in italics this sentence: *The concept of homologues in terms of similar genes handed on from a common ancestor has broken down.* He examines the evidence for inherited characteristics being transmitted by physical means and concludes that this theory is untenable. It cannot be by chance that the species maintains its characteristics. He ends by submitting, as an unproved theory that would account for the facts, a "species-mind" which preserves the characteristics of the species. He says that man is aware of such a human-species mind in himself.

> Does it [he asks] seem too presumptuous . . . to suggest that for us the Great Mind or Great Artist corresponding to what we have been suggesting for the animal kingdom, may not be at the heart of all the religions of the world? It would not surprise me to find that biology had just as close a connection with theology as it has with physics and chemistry. The sense of the sacred is just as much a part of the natural history of man as is sex; but it is a part which has not yet become the subject of science. . . . All true religious experience points to the existence in all races of men of a feeling of being in touch with some greater power beyond their individual selves. . . . What we recognize as religious experience in our-

> selves may be the development of something similar in all animal life: the relation of the individual to the greater entity of the species-mind.

Perhaps Prof. Hardy has Jung's theory of archetypes in mind. These, according to Jung, create the divine images of religion and are, he says, equivalent to the instincts in animals. One would have to suppose that the archetypes determine both the physical body and the psychological dispositions of man and animals. The known relationship between a man's glands and his disposition might support this view. It may be not that glandular secretions determine our temperaments, but that both result from the same archetype or creative factor. But the implications go much deeper than this. If a species-mind determines the species, it must have determined the fresh emergence of the species, and if so then the first living cell, and if so then the physical world out of which living matter arose, and if so then the atom itself. Remembering those non-material movements which seem to create atoms, we see that the same hypothesis could reasonably explain both.

I have looked with a non-specialist eye at some of the latest speculations in many branches of science. Each one of them taken separately shakes one's common-sense view of the universe, and suggests that our known universe cannot be accounted for without reference to an underlying unknowable. When we put all these side by side their cumulative implication staggers one, for they each add up to much the same figure. This in itself seems significant, but there may be an added significance in that the workers and thinkers all belong to the same epoch, the same half-century of the history of the universe. They all seem to express the unconscious of the hour. It looks as if we were arriving at some synthesis. It may well be that if modern man does not destroy himself first, he may not have to endure much longer the process of disintegration, the death of the spirit, that our generation has gone through. But if some clarification and systematizing of our knowledge is due, we must reasonably suppose that the new synthesis will be as different on the psychological or spiritual side from the old, as that of the new cosmos differs from the Ptolemaic. No doubt we shall rediscover old truths, for archetypes do not seem to change their fundamental structure till a new species is due, but I cannot believe that we shall sing the tunes of the past. The synthesis will probably have to recognize the unknowable, perhaps to balance on a changing and uncertain foundation, possibly to enable us to feel significant in a universe that is not anthropocentric.

THE FAILURE OF A MISSION: 1791

By A. Skevington Wood, B.A., Ph.D.

The attempt of Thomas Haweis to send two missionaries to Tahiti in the year 1791 represents a little-known chapter in the story of the great expansion at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. It receives scant notice from the standard historians of the missionary awakening. As a brave pioneer effort, Haweis's project deserves fuller attention than has yet been paid to it. Fortunately, his own unpublished accounts of the whole disappointing affair enable us to reconstruct the sequence of events.[1]

Thomas Haweis was rector of All Saints, Aldwincle, Northamptonshire. As a protégé of Samuel Walker of Truro he had been early introduced to Evangelical views and whilst at the University of Oxford had formed what Luke Tyerman does not hesitate to call a second Holy Club.[2] In 1774 he was appointed Chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon, having been preaching regularly in her chapels for some time.[3] When, after the Spa Fields dispute in 1780, Lady Huntingdon was compelled to register her places of worship as Dissenting meeting houses, under the Toleration Act, Haweis, along with other Anglican clergymen, withdrew from her Connexion. In 1789, however, he resumed work for the Countess and was despatched to Bath to resuscitate what was well-nigh a dying cause.

It was during his brief residence here that he was enabled to take the first practical steps towards the realization of a dream he had cherished over a number of years. He had read the thrilling narratives of Samuel Wallis and James Cook describing their voyages to the South Seas and, like William Carey, had felt the challenge of Cook's prophecy that the island of Tahiti would never become the scene of a Christian mission.[4] Haweis longed to see these far-off regions won for Jesus Christ.

[1]These appear in Haweis's Autobiography (1734-1796), his Diary (1791-1818), his miscellaneous papers, especially that entitled "The Origin of the Missionary Society," his parchment book and his letter to Sir James Wright on 6th June, 1791. The present article is based on these manuscript sources, which are found in the Haweis Collection in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, New South Wales. Quotations are made by permission of the trustees.

[2]L. Tyerman, *The Life of George Whitefield*, II, 375.

[3]This date is definitively established by Haweis's Autobiography, and must supersede the statements of C. C. Boase *(Dictionary of National Biography*, XXV, 186) and J. Peile *(Biographical Register of Christ's College*, 1505-1905, II, 288). J. A. Venn *(Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Pt. II, Vol. III, 290) and E. A. Payne *(The Church Awakes*, 105) repeat the misstatement, no doubt relying on the above authorities.

[4]K. S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, V, 203.

> I could not but feel deep regret that so beautiful a part of creation, and the inhabitants of these innumerable islands of the Southern Sea, should be regions of the shadow of death and dens of every unclean beast and habitations of cruelty devouring literally one another. Led by the Gospel through grace on all occasions to look for help to Him Who is mighty to save, I could not but hope and pray that this providential discovery of a before unknown world might lead to the communicating of Divine truth to these benighted lands, and bring them out of darkness into His marvellous light, Who is the light of life.[5]

It was whilst he was serving Lady Huntingdon at Bath late in 1789 that Haweis first broached to her the possibility of sending missionaries to Tahiti, and she thereupon offered him two of her students from Trevecca College to be trained for this purpose. He tells us that the Countess had for some time been concerned about the state of the heathen and that this had formed the subject of several previous conversations between them. We know that in 1772 she had gathered all her chaplains and students at Trevecca to consider means "of promoting the knowledge of the Lord, not only in the provinces of America, but also (by the intended measure) a supply of missions will be provided to carry it into the back settlements and among the heathen nations."[6] As a result, a party was sent out to Georgia to reorganize Whitefield's Orphanage, which had been bequeathed to the Countess on his death in 1770, and to undertake a varied programme of missionary activity. This venture evidently encouraged Lady Huntingdon to explore the practicability of a mission to another field. But lack of men and money had halted any furtherance of the scheme. Now, with Haweis's concrete proposal of Tahiti and the Countess's equally concrete provision of two students, the plan began to take shape. Haweis immediately accepted the candidates, who had earnestly expressed their desire to devote their lives to a heathen mission, and undertook to train them at his own expense. Their names were Michael Waugh, aged twenty-eight, and John Price, aged twenty-three or twenty-four, "the latter," added Haweis, "very acute and of quick comprehension, the former slow in parts, though not without a sound understanding."[7] They were both well versed in the Scriptures and in the principles of theology, but lacked the advantages of a school education. They came to Bath to start their training under Haweis and his friend Dr. Walker, who had volunteered to assist.

This was probably early in 1790. In his manuscript account

[5]Haweis's parchment book.

[6]A. C. H. Seymour, *The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon*, II, 257. cf. Payne, op. cit., 104.

[7]MS Letter Thomas Haweis to Sir James Wright, 6th June, 1791.

entitled "The Origin of the Missionary Society" Haweis revealed his uncertainty as to the precise date of his contact with Waugh and Price. "I think in 1787," he wrote, having crossed out 1788; "I am not sure as to the year; it might be perhaps earlier." His Diary for 1790 has 1789-1790. In the letter to Sir James Wright on 6th June, 1791, Haweis said it was "about a year and a half ago, or something less." In his *Life of William Romaine,* published in 1797, he put it at "about seven years ago."[8] In the latest extract, on 1st February, 1819, the year before his death, he spoke of "the efforts I made in 1789, 1790 and 1791."[9] William Ellis, in *The History of the London Missionary Society,* quotes from a letter of Haweis in 1789 in which he wrote: "For many years I have planned, prayed for, and sought for an opening for a mission among the heathen. My dear Lady Huntingdon has concurred with me in attempting it."[10] Unfortunately Ellis does not date this letter by day and month, and it has not been preserved amongst the located Haweis MSS. Ellis also cites a letter from Lady Huntingdon to Haweis, of 20th January, 1790, in which she said: "I shall be happy to see my dear and kind friend's plan for the heathen mission. It charms me to hear; and suffer me only to fulfil your meaning in all I can do. The barrel of meal and the cruse of oil fail not."[11] After weighing and sifting this combined and at times confused evidence, we may conclude with reasonable assurance that the pioneer agitations of Haweis, which culminated in her Ladyship's offer of Waugh and Price, probably began in real earnest towards the end of the year 1789, and that the students actually started their preparation early in 1790.

Their course was a remarkably comprehensive one, and is of the greatest interest as an early example of missionary training. They were first taken through Lowth's *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* in order to gain a mastery of their own tongue. They were regularly required to compose essays, especially on sacred subjects, with a view to improving their powers of expression. They were then taught enough Latin to enable them to construe the Latin Testament. Their practical equipment was not neglected. They were given an intensive course in geography and history, so that they might have some knowledge of the islands to which they were to go. They were placed under a gardener, who instructed them in crofting and planting, and also in handling the axe and saw. They had lessons in elementary needlework so that they would be able to care for their own clothes. Haweis, who had himself been a medical student before entering the ministry of the

[8]T. Haweis, *The Life of Rev. William Romaine,* 211.
[9]Haweis's miscellaneous papers.
[10]op. cit. 1, 8. [11]ibid.

Church, introduced them to the rudiments of first aid and nursing and, by courtesy of the surgeon at the casualty hospital, enabled them to watch the patients' wounds being dressed. He made them attend when he bled people who came to him for advice, so that they should know how to perform the operation.

Haweis admitted that this training was necessarily hurried and superficial. He would have liked to have opened to them the pages of classical literature, but he felt that these practical matters were more important. He consoled himself somewhat ruefully with the French proverb: *Dans les paies des aveugles les bourgeois sont rois*. What pleased him most was their keenness and assiduity. When Haweis was compelled by the call of other duties to leave Bath in the spring of 1790, he arranged for Waugh and Price to attend Edward Spencer's academy at Wingfield.[12] There they were to remain until Haweis returned to Bath in the winter, or an opportunity was afforded to despatch them on their mission. After spending the summer and autumn in his Northamptonshire parish, Haweis travelled back to Bath, via London and Brighton, where he remained from November, 1790, until the spring of 1791. During this period he presumably took over once more the coaching of his missionary candidates.

At the beginning of May, 1791, Haweis went to London to supply at the Spa Fields Chapel for a spell. Soon after his arrival in the metropolis he heard that Captain William Bligh, who had a year previously landed in England after the mutiny on the *Bounty*, was planning to embark a second time for Tahiti to convey the bread-fruit plant to our West Indian colonies.[13] Haweis saw in this expedition the very opportunity he had been awaiting, and took immediate steps to secure passages for his two missionaries aboard the *Providence*.[14] Hearing that Captain Bligh was to be found at the home of Sir Joseph Banks, the famous naturalist, in Soho Square, Haweis sought him there and outlined his scheme. Bligh was at first disposed to raise objections on the score that the

[12]Edward Spencer (1740-1819), son of Thomas Spencer, of London, was educated at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford (matriculated 11th June, 1768). He was Curate of Bradford, Wiltshire, and later Rector of Wingfield, in the same county, where he established a school for ministerial training, of which Edwin Sidney, the biographer of Samuel Walker, and Richard and Rowland Hill, was a pupil (E. Sidney, *The Life of Samuel Walker*, 2nd Ed., 255; J. W. Middelton, *An Ecclesiastical Memoir*, 48-49; D. E. Jenkins, *The Life of Thomas Charles of Bala*, I, 283; J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, II, 1334; J. S. Reynolds, *The Evangelicals at Oxford*, 182-183; Seymour, op. cit., I, 366; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1819, i, 188; *Evangelical Magazine*, 1819, 393-399).

[13]William Bligh (1754-1817) had accompanied Captain Cook on his second voyage (1772-1774) when the bread-fruit plant was discovered on Tahiti. In 1787 he was appointed to the *Bounty* which arrived in Tahiti in October, 1788. Bligh returned to England on 14th March, 1790. In 1791 he was appointed to the *Providence* (*D.N.B.*, V, 219-220).

[14]Haweis, in *The Origin of the Missionary Society*, mistakenly has the *Bounty*.

accommodation of his ship was fully taxed. But Haweis was not to be lightly discouraged. He was the conscript of a missionary dream and felt that this was an opening too favourable to be missed. He visited Bligh repeatedly at his home at 3 Durham Place, Lambeth, and advanced every possible argument, including Bligh's own miraculous escape. In this Haweis was sympathetically seconded by Elizabeth Bligh. Eventually Bligh capitulated and from the moment he had given his consent Haweis found him to be most co-operative and considerate. He gave Haweis all the benefit of his seaman's knowledge and encouraged the hope that the reception of the missionaries in Tahiti would be cordial. Bligh undertook to do everything in his power to see them comfortably settled. In repeated interviews he gave detailed and expert advice upon the equipment he considered necessary for them to take. In view of the popular misconception of Bligh's character, based largely upon a distorted version of the events connected with the now notorious mutiny, this brief sidelight from a hitherto unnoticed source is not without value.

Having won over Captain Bligh, Haweis's next task was to obtain leave from the Government for his two candidates to sail in the *Providence*. In this difficult approach Haweis was helped by his friends. William Romaine, the Evangelical rector of St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe with St. Anne, Blackfriars, who already knew of the project and had pledged his support, evidently had some influence at the Admiralty. He had been making preliminary enquiries even before Haweis reached London. Through Charles Grant, senior merchant of the East India Company, and later the adviser of the Baptist Missionary Society, he had learned of a private ship going to the South Seas.[15] It was not then ready, but there was a possibility of a passage being reserved. Grant considered this to be "infinitely preferable to a King's ship."[16] It is thus clear that Romaine was active on Haweis's behalf in this matter, and had succeeded in interesting Grant. Further valuable assistance was forthcoming from another quarter. A letter dated 10th May, 1791, had brought an offer of help from Ambrose

[15]Charles Grant (1746-1823) was a member of the Clapham Sect. He went out to India as a youth and entered the service of the East India Company, of which he eventually became Chairman. It was a meeting with Christian Friedrich Schwartz that first fired him with missionary enthusiasm. He settled in Clapham in 1790 (J. A. Patten, *These Remarkable Men*, 90-96).

[16]MS Letter, William Romaine to Thomas Haweis, 25th May, 1791. Romaine (1714-1795) had first met Haweis at Oxford and they had been staunch friends since that time. After holding a series of lectureships in London, Romaine was presented to his living in 1764, and remained there until his death. For his life, see that by W. B. Cadogan prefixed to *The Whole Works of William Romaine*, and that by Haweis himself already mentioned.

Serle, himself a naval man and a prominent figure at the Admiralty.[17]

> Permit a stranger to you (though you for many years have not been a stranger to him) to trouble you upon a subject which it gave me great pleasure to hear from my dear friend Mr. Romaine has engaged your attention and concern. The mention of extending the Gospel to the islands in the Pacific Ocean and your noble forwardness upon the occasion caused my heart to leap for joy. I am therefore inclined rather to run the risk of seeming impertinent by what I beg to say than to decline thanking you for the liberal promotion of a measure which I rejoice to hear has laid so much upon your mind, as it has for a considerable time on my own. I bless God that He hath put such abilities as yours upon leading the way in this good work, in the prosecution of which every Christian and benevolent heart must surely unite with your own both by contributions and prayer.
>
> Though your intended bounty is truly generous, yet I fear that, from the variety of necessaries proper for the intended missionaries (which can only be had from home, and cannot easily be recruited), the duration of their employment, and their distance from England, it will suffice for little more than a primary equipment, without allowing for the hazards and losses incident to so long a voyage. I would therefore beg to recommend that a further subscription, subordinate to your own, and under your patronage and direction, may be set on foot: and though my circumstances in life are not affluent, considering that I have eight children to provide for, you shall command my purse on such an occasion as this, and all my humble endeavours to second your own.[18]

It will be gathered from the above that Haweis himself had been prepared to subsidize the venture from his own purse. He gladly adopted Serle's suggestion for a further appeal and also his offer of help at the Admiralty. It was through Serle that Haweis was put in touch with Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Middleton, afterwards Lord Barham, who was later to prove such a tower of strength to the London Missionary Society in its infancy.[19] Through the good

[17] Ambrose Serle (1742-1812) attained the rank of Captain in the Navy in 1795. He was Under Secretary for the Colonies in 1772 and visited America from 1774 to 1776 with the British Army. In 1776 he was Clerk of Reports and in 1789 was appointed Secretary to the Admiralty. He was the author of *Horae Solitariae* (1780) (*D.N.B.*., LI, 254; Middelton, op. cit., 222-224; *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, 14th Report, Appendix X, passim; Hole MSS in the custody of the Church Missionary Society).

[18] MS Letter Ambrose Serle to Thomas Haweis, 10th May, 1791.

[19] Sir Charles Middleton (1726-1813) was appointed Comptroller of the Navy in 1778, after a distinguished naval career. He was created a Baronet in 1781 and was M.P. for Rochester from 1784. He was promoted Rear-Admiral in 1787, Vice-Admiral in 1793 and Admiral in 1795. In 1794 and 1795 he was one of the Lords of Commission at the Admiralty and in 1805 became First Lord, being then raised to the peerage. He was an early member of the Evangelical party (*D.N.B.*, XXXVII, 340; Seymour, op. cit., II, 390; V. Gibbs, *The Complete Peerage*, I, 423).

offices of Sir Charles Middleton and William Wilberforce access was gained to Sir Evan Nepean, then Commissioner of the Privy Seal, and subsequently Secretary to the Admiralty.[20] Nepean gave a more favourable hearing to Haweis's project than Haweis himself had dared to hope, and permission was duly granted for Waugh and Price to sail with Captain Bligh. Meanwhile Sir Joseph Banks had also interested himself in Haweis's enterprise and placed his wide and valuable knowledge at Haweis's disposal.[21] This, then, was no wild, romantic dream, unsupported by any practical counsel or experience. The names of Sir Evan Nepean, Sir Charles Middleton, Sir Joseph Banks, William Wilberforce, Charles Grant, Ambrose Serle and Captain Bligh himself combine to constitute an ample guarantee of the soundness of this scheme.

Unforeseen disappointments, however, loomed ahead. As soon as the passage on the *Providence* had been booked, Waugh and Price were sent for, and travelled up from Wingfield to London. It was then that they began to lay down conditions prior to their departure, on the advice of some of their friends. They first demanded a pension should they be obliged to withdraw, and a guaranteed return fare. Haweis agreed to bear their travelling expenses and provide for them in Lady Huntingdon's Connexion if, after a fair trial abroad, they proved their ability. The missionaries then produced the ultimatum which finally scuppered the scheme. They refused to sail unless they were given episcopal ordination. This was a matter that had never been discussed when first they volunteered. There had been no question of their going out as ordained clergymen of the Church of England. They belonged to Lady Huntingdon's Connexion and would, no doubt, have been set apart for that ministry before they embarked—though Haweis himself would have preferred to send them out simply as lay evangelists. He had certainly never encouraged them to hope for orders in the Established Church and was well aware that their academic limitations would prove an insurmountable obstacle. But since they were adamant on this point, and Haweis had visions of his cherished plan melting before his eyes, he determined to make every effort to secure what they desired.

Haweis consulted Romaine, who suggested that an attempt

[20]Sir Evan Nepean (1751-1822) became Commissioner of the Privy Seal in 1784. He was Under Secretary for War in 1794, Secretary of the Admiralty in 1795, Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1804, Lord of Commission at the Admiralty in 1804 and Governor of Bombay from 1812 to 1819 (*D.N.B.*, XL, 221-222; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1822, ii, 373).

[21]Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820) inherited his father's fortune in 1764 and in 1766 made a scientific expedition to Newfoundland and Labrador. He was a member of Cook's first party, and in 1772 went to Iceland. He was elected President of the Royal Society in 1778 and a member of the National Institute of France in 1802. He bequeathed his books to the British Museum. cf. E. Smith, *The Life of Sir Joseph Banks.*

might be made through the Bishop of London. So Haweis drew up a statement of the whole case and made out a copy of the Admiralty permit, both of which Romaine undertook to deliver to the Bishop—Beilby Porteous.[22] Romaine also persuaded Wilberforce to intercede with His Grace. This appeal, however, was unavailing, as Romaine's letters to Haweis revealed.[23] The Bishop referred the matter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in whose department in the diocese of London it fell. Sir James Wright, whose sister the Archbishop had married, took Haweis's letter and seconded it, but without success.[24] Haweis resolved to make one more effort and went to see the Primate himself. He was courteously received and his petition graciously heard, but the Archbishop—John Moore—politely declined to consider ordaining Waugh and Price, since they were not University men.[25]

Haweis therefore told the candidates what trouble he had taken to comply with their last-minute wishes, and urged upon them how little this ought to interfere with the solemn promises they had made. They had already offered to go wherever a passage could be secured, and no question of episcopal ordination had been previously mentioned. He begged them to fulfil their unconditional vows. Waugh and Price, however, blankly refused to embark without this seal, and thus, at the last moment, when every other arrangement had been made for their departure, they backed out. Not unnaturally, Haweis was at first deeply disappointed at their withdrawal, but added that, in the light of their subsequent conduct, the event left him no cause for regret. Another of Lady Huntingdon's students, Thomas Lewis, offered to go alone, and came up to London prepared to embark, but it was deemed inexpedient to send him unaccompanied.[26] So the *Providence* sailed without a missionary on board, and a great opportunity passed. We can only describe the venture as the failure of a mission. It seemed, indeed, as if the dream was foredoomed to disintegration. But where Haweis had been so unfortunate, others were to succeed, and in 1793 William Carey and John Thomas sailed for Bengal as the first representatives of a British missionary society. Had not Waugh and Price retracted their promises at the eleventh hour, their names might have been immortalized amongst the harbingers

[22]He was Bishop of London from 1787 to 1808 (J. le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, III, 306).

[23]MS Letters, William Romaine to Thomas Haweis, 20th and 25th May, 1791; Haweis, *Life of Romaine*, 203.

[24]Sir James Wright (d. 1816) had given away the bride on Haweis's second marriage, to Jennett Payne Orton, Lady Huntingdon's boon companion, at St. Luke's, Old Street, London, in 1788. His father had been Attorney General and Governor of Georgia (*Autobiography;* Seymour, op. cit., II, 255).

[25]For Moore, see A. W. Rowden, *The Primates of the Four Georges*, 348-379.

[26]Thomas Lewis (d. 1799) was one of the four ordained ministers who eventually sailed on the *Duff* in 1796 (R. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 1795-1895, I, 127).

of the great missionary awakening, and Thomas Haweis would today be something more than one of history's forgotten men.[27]

At the time Haweis scarcely had space to brood over his disappointment, for in June 1791, on the death of Lady Huntingdon, he was entrusted with the superintendency of her entire Connexion.[28] Such a load of responsibility more than occupied his hours and energies and saved him from dwelling too bitterly upon the rude shattering of his missionary hopes. When at length he was able to devote his attention to affairs beyond his own parish and the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, he resumed his efforts to promote the cause of missions overseas. In 1794 we find him exploring the possibility of opening up work in West Africa, in response to the appeal of Cato Perkins, and actually proposing to open negotiations with the newly-formed Bulam Company.[29] They promised that when they had obtained their charter they would be prepared to offer a piece of land on suitable terms.[30] No more is heard of the scheme, and it is possible that the Company failed to gain a charter and the trustees therefore disbanded. Once again it seemed that Haweis's missionary dream was extinguished. In the same year, however, his review of Melville Horne's *Letters on Missions* in the *Evangelical Magazine* proved to be one of the major steps towards the founding of the London Missionary Society.[31] His offer of five hundred pounds was, in fact, the first subscription to that body and his "Address to Christian Ministers" convened the series of meetings which ultimately led to the formation of the Society in September, 1795.[32] Dr. Payne rightly names Haweis as one of the three outstanding founders of the L.M.S.[33] To Haweis also fell the honour of preaching the first sermon of the newly-inaugurated Society, and in it he seized the opportunity to press his favourite theme—namely, the suitability of the South Sea Islands as a scene for pioneer missionary effort.[34] He had his wish. It was duly agreed that the first missionary voyage of the L.M.S. should be to Tahiti. When the good ship *Duff* eventually sailed in September, 1796, Haweis's long-treasured dream came true. His harvest had ripened at last. The failure of a mission in 1791 was gloriously written off. Its death was swallowed up in victory.

[27]Haweis's project, had it succeeded, would not, of course, have robbed Carey and Thomas of their distinction in being the first missionaries sent out by a society formed for the purpose.

[28]Seymour, op. cit., II, 490; Autobiography, 195; Diary, 18.

[29]Diary, 42; MS Letter Lady Anne Erskine to Thomas Haweis, 14th January, 1794.

[30]MS Letter, Lady Anne Erskine to Thomas Haweis, 14th January, 1794.

[31]*Evangelical Magazine*, 1794, 478.

[32]*Report of the Missionary Society*, I, 5-8.

[33]op. cit., 36.

[34]*Sermons preached in London, at the formation of the Missionary Society*, 3-23.

DEATH AND SURVIVAL

By Joshua C. Gregory, B.Sc., F.R.I.C.

"Death," writes Wittgenstein, "is not an event of life." It has constantly seemed to be an interruptive event in a continuing existence. It has also constantly seemed to be an event that ought not to happen: it occurs because something goes wrong. In Plato's *Timaeus* death is the natural sequel to old age but, normally for the primitive mind, death is not natural. The *Timaeus* inevitably recognizes death by disease or wound; primitives constantly ascribe death and disease to magic. Later on, a deputed angel of death, such as the Islamic Izrail, often replaces the magician. Many myths embody a fundamental sense of something gone wrong by ascribing the origin of death to some decisive event.

Unkulunkulu, according to the Zulus, as Frazer relates, sent the chameleon to tell men they would not die, and the lizard to tell them that they would. Men do die because the lizard arrived with his message before the loitering chameleon. Many myths explain the origin of death; as Jastrow notes, they imply that death is not the natural end to human life, but an imposition on it. *Genesis* is more familiar than the vacillating Unkulunkulu and the fatal lizard. Adam and Eve eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, of enlightenment, and are expelled from Eden. Then they cannot live for ever by plucking from the tree of life. The tree of enlightenment may be muddled with a tree of death, for Adam is first threatened with quick death if he eats of it. As the narrative runs, Adam and Eve cannot snatch immortality because the cherubim and a flaming sword guard the way to the tree of life. In the elaborated legend "Man's first disobedience" and the tasted fruit "brought death into the world". This is the Christian version of the decisive event so often mythically presumed to account for death. Deathlessness is the prerogative of the gods: so thought the Greeks. A decisive event inflicted death upon man: so many myths affirm.

Death did invade life, but men could not imagine it to be final. Major G. St. J. Orde Browne discovered unusual ideas among the *Vanishing Tribes of Kenya*. The Sun, one legend runs, made a medicine to revive the dead. He sent the Mole, which then ran *on* the ground, to distribute the packet of immortality among men. The Hyaena met the Mole, discovered his errand, and was dumbfounded because he would have no corpses to eat. He persuaded the reluctant Mole to exchange his own packet for a medicine that

killed. When the Mole reported on his mission, the angered Sun, unable to make the medicine again, condemned the Mole to live underground. This legend is typical: death prevails through mischance. In this instance, however, death is final. The natives throw the dead into the bush to the hyaenas, and seem to have no notion of returning ghosts or spirits. Their incredulity about a life after death troubled missionaries—Christian or Islamic. It also astonished them, for this mythically-explained, *perpetuated* death contrasts sharply with an almost universal belief in the continued life of the dead. Death is undeniable, and many myths explain its origin, but myths to explain why the dead do not survive are very unusual. Normally, death, often due to a decisive event, is not the finish—it is, so to speak, an interruptive event in a continuing existence.

According to Herodotus, the Getae believe that the dead travel to their god Zalmoxis. Every fifth year these Getae choose, by lot, an envoy to beg necessaries from their god. To speed the messenger they throw him on to three javelins held by three men. If he dies at once, Zalmoxis favours him; if he does not, he is too wicked, and another envoy is chosen. The Getae dead depart from the living, but this separation does not seem to be the most primitive notion. The primitive mind does not distinguish clearly between living and dead. At one time, according to some New Guinea legends, the quick and the dead lived together. In the Niger Delta the ancestral spirits attend dances or plays, and a little food is usually thrown to them before meals. For early primitive thought, the dead still belong to the social group. Lévy-Bruhl, in one place, emphasizes the constant presence of the dead. In the Niger Delta itself the spirits of the dead pass through the Eziri Cave into their own realm.

The living can still invoke them, and receive answers to questions, though not directly. Two painted pillars separate the part of the cave where the dead live from the part where the questioners wait. The dead come when properly invoked, but only the priestess standing between the pillars can hear them. The spirits of dead Eddystone Island natives also live in a cave. They further increase their aloofness by living on a distant island, to which, so River's account runs, ghosts ferry them. Such beliefs express a sense of the still living dead, though they live differently, usually in some more or less defined, or undefined, way, and with varying degrees of aloofness from the living.

In the ideal limit, extrapolated from many primitive beliefs, the dead and the living form one homogeneous group. The dead simply live on, in the ideal limit, as animated bodies. This notion seems to persist, along with other ideas in, for instance, the Egyptian mummy—preserved to be reanimated. Food and drink were

presumably offered to the dead to vitalize them, or keep them alive, and in the articles buried with them the belief persists that the dead live on, after interruptive death, as they had lived. This original homogeneity, so far as it ever actually existed, could not last. As the simple notion of reanimated corpses became impossible, the dead were conceived as shadowy ghosts or spirits. 'Soul' can cover a variety of notions about the surviving dead. Separation between dead and living steadily accompanies the distinction between soul and body. The dead have been segregated when Cerberus keeps them in Hades; they still have some connexion with the living when Odysseus visits them. The dead have left the living when the psalmist cries out that God will not *leave* his soul in Sheol. On the Great Day when, as the Koran quaintly includes the item among the portents, the she-camels shall be abandoned, bodies will be resurrected and paired with their souls. The old notion of the living dead as vitalized corpses seems, by combining with the notion of the soul, to persist in resurrection doctrines.

Belief in survival after death clearly seems to have been almost universal. It also seems to be very ancient—perhaps as ancient as man himself, or nearly so. The surviving dead may well be the prototypes of all other supernatural beings: devils, angels, and including the Olympian gods in the motley horde. A belief so early, so widespread, and so persistent in many forms must have originated in fundamental dispositions of the human mind.

Human life involves a succession of vogues—major or minor, short or long, and often recurrent. At one time pens kept dropping the phrase "egocentric predicament". No man, it seems to have meant, can think himself out of the course of things. The wayfarer in Borrowdale looks up at Causey Pike, reflects that the mountain will still be there in a hundred years, while he himself will not then exist anywhere on earth. Yet he finds it difficult, if not impossible, to realize his own non-existence—he cannot think successfully of his own annihilated self. Indeed, as Condillac remarks, if he were aware only of his own existence, he would have no idea of death. Men's inability to think of themselves as non-existent, though not enough to produce the persistent belief in survival, may have helped to promote it.

Curiosity and desire to live on, some suggestions run, promoted belief in survival. At the root of belief in immortality, Malinowski suggests, lies the instinct of self-preservation—the sum of innate tendencies. Desire for "ubiquity in time", as immortality is called in *Moby Dick,* probably did prompt men. This chimes with Shelley's notion: "The desire to be for ever as we are", by "secret persuasion", originated beliefs in "a future state". Such causes, however, were only contributory to the powerful disposition

legitimately inferred from experience and anthropological data. Inability to realize self-annihilation doubtless did support desire to live on but, as Condillac implies, death could only be suspected or known because men were known to die. Inability to believe in the annihilation of the dead was the fundamental cause of belief in survival, and they seemed to live on because they were remembered.

If each man, woman, or child, after death and disposal in bush or grave, were completely forgotten, there would be no belief in survival—there would be, for the living, no one to survive. A lyre, Socrates reminds Simmias and Cebes, brings to the mind's eye the image of the owner. The recently dead also, are recollected, and reminiscently thought of as 'alive. Traditional ancestors, heroes, and others are thought of as still living, though, as in the case of the recently dead, the realization of their death may lurk in, or under, consciousness. In Normandy, one traveller records, they still speak of William the Conqueror as if he still lives. The primitive mind was probably inclined to accept this reminiscent reality as actual survival. If "the image of a dead loved one appears" to him "suddenly", Sartre records, "the image presents its object as not existing." When a "dead friend" appears, he adds, he seems to be "unreal". Sartre may be more conscious than most people of the "dead". The realization of the "dead" may occur, on occasion, even in a dream. It did when one dreamer was *surprised* to see a dead colleague standing by a motor car. The surprise has another significance: the dead usually seem to be very definitely alive in dreams.

In primitive life, the evidence is, the dead convincingly visit dreamers. Ancestors are constantly supposed to visit their dreaming descendants, and such audiences are often important. A dead ancestor, or relation, Frazer records, visits a dreaming Lapp woman near her delivery to tell her the name of the dead person incarnate in her child, and hence how to name it. Today, among civilized men, the dream of the dead does not guarantee survival. In primitive thought, when the dead appeared veritably to appear in dreams, beliefs in important revelations from the visitors fortified the original belief, and predisposed men to dream of the visiting dead. Dreams of the dead seem, quite clearly, to be more prevalent among primitives than among us. Thus the dead seemed to appear in dreams, the belief predisposed to such dreaming, and the resultant frequency confirmed the belief in survival after death.

The travelling dream, major or minor, helped, perhaps originated, the notion of the soul which leaves the body temporarily during sleep, and permanently at death. The soul of the dreamer might then visit the dead in their own domain. Among the Nagas a

medicine man is sometimes commissioned to heal a feud by meeting the dead party in a dream. For a Navajo Indian to dream of being dead means a visit to the spirits in their own world. If they beckon to him, or shake his hand, he will himself soon die. This standardized interpretation is one indication, among many, that primitives dream more of the dead than civilized men.

Belief in survival appeared very early, and pervaded mankind. Probable minor causes are: the difficulty of realizing self-annihilation, desire to live on, impulses to self-preservation, and perhaps curiosity. Memory, however, essentially originated and dominated the irresistible belief that the dead still live. The remembered dead seemed to live on: tradition did for remote ancestors what actual recollection did for those who died yesterday. Dreams of visits from the dead, and to them, most convincingly assured men of a life after death. According to Aldous Huxley, the Homeric conception of survival was fundamentally scientific, but a theory, made to fit observable facts, suggests too much deliberateness. The very organization of the human mind seems to have enforced the belief on men—including Homeric men. Memory inheres essentially in that organization, and the dream, with its own method of remembering the dead, is an incidental consequence of transitions between waking and sleeping. The convincingness of the dream combined with the general persuasiveness of memory to impose belief in the continued life of the dead. This imposition seems more likely than ratiocinative deduction to have originated so ancient and pervasive a belief as survival of death. Various hallucinations and visions may have strengthened the conviction, but memory, supported by the dream, seems to have enforced it. The Homeric notions themselves have obvious primitive traits.

This initially enforced belief, pervasive from the first, persisted powerfully, penetrated reflective thought, and was well nursed into further perpetuity by religion and philosophy.

Reincarnation fitted nicely into early beliefs about survival. If the soul of the sleeper, after wandering, returns to its own body, the soul of the dead, after exile, may return to another body prepared for it. This seems to be the essential rationale of a complex of notions. In reincarnation, as in resurrection, the old idea of a surviving body seems recognizably to persist. In metempsychosis the reincarnations may occur in animals. It fairly obviously originated at a primitive level when animals were considered to be more within the human community, and more akin to man, than they are now. The notion of survival is an eminent instance, perhaps the most eminent, of ideas born in "the dark backward and abysm of time" thrusting themselves upon reflective thought. When it appears in Plato, its association with metem-

psychosis stamps its primitive origin upon it, and philosophy has been invaded by very early, and very persuasive notions, of survival, immortality, and the soul.

Scepticism has beset the notion of survival when Socrates discusses it. The astonishment of Glaucon, in the *Republic,* when Socrates calls the soul of man immortal and imperishable, might be for dramtic contrast. Socrates, however, meets with scepticism elsewhere. Men are apt to incredulity, Cebes urges in the *Phaedo*: they fear that the soul, as she leaves the body, may vanish like air or smoke into nothingness. The Homeric shadowy ghost flits off in the pyre smoke, as Dr. Gilbert Murray notes. Scepticism now suspects an earlier flit at death into dispersal and non-existence. As the belief in survival flows on, and spreads, the dead are constantly conceived to be shadowy and weak. They are, therefore, felt to need a body. Reincarnation or metempsychosis, whatever its detailed origins, conforms to this feeling by repeatedly providing bodies for the weak shadowy souls. Later resurrection doctrines may represent the persistence of this feeling, and the Platonic dialogues may be preoccupied with metempsychosis, partly because so weak and shadowy a thing as a soul must have a strengthening body. A concurrent sense of the soul's power is present. The soul may wear out many bodies, Cebes concedes in the *Phaedo,* as a weaver wears out many coats. An underlying feeling, however, may continue to prompt the preoccupation. It prevails with the sceptical Cebes: many reincarnations may finally wear the soul out.

When Socrates agrees with Cebes that persuasive arguments are needed to convince men of survival the invading belief requires whatever assurances religion or philosophy can give. As Socrates presents many arguments in various dialogues he seems to the modern mind to be bent on justifying a preconceived belief. In the *Phaedo,* when Socrates, before he drinks the hemlock, speaks to his friends of his belief in a future life, the modern reader mingles sympathy with a feeling of inadequacy. The argument, for instance, from death and life as opposites, in which the generation of the dead from the living is presumed to involve the generation of the living from the dead, seems a curious plea for the existence of souls in the world below. Socrates, indeed, at one moment in the *Phaedo,* admits that he is trying to convince himself.

Belief in survival, beset by scepticism, sought aid from persuasive notions: this is clear in the Platonic dialogues. The desire for knowledge, amongst other items, urges Socrates to justify the immortality of the soul. Since the soul cannot obtain pure knowledge while in the body it can only do so, if at all, after death. As Socrates embodies the old idea of knowledge acquired by

wandering souls during dreams or at death in his doctrine of Recollection or Reminiscence, he finds reincarnation helpful. What has been apparently learnt, as skilled questions reveal, has been recollected from many previous existences. Philosophers, Socrates urges, actually try to free their souls to attain truth, and may be said to practise death. Thus the Socratic philosophy helps to maintain the ancient belief in survival by the notion of knowledge made accessible to the soul by death.

Another notion appears in the *Phaedo*. In one passage the vile go to punitive Tartarus, and never come out; the wholly pure, perfected by philosophy, live henceforth without bodies in mansions indescribably fair. Apart from an equivalent of the later purgatory, and the redemption of some from Tartarus, Socrates presents prototypes of the future heaven and hell.

The tendency to divide the dead between two different realms is perceptible in the variations of Greek mythology. The Plain of Asphodel appears in descriptions of Hades. The ghosts, living their vague shadowy existence in this dreary place, may represent the first segregation of the dead. Elysium, the happy land reserved for those favoured by the gods, and Tartarus, the place of punishment, represent an inherent tendency of beliefs in immortality to divide the dead into the happy virtuous and the punished wicked. Reincarnation helped these notions. Socrates at least hints at a punitive or reformative metempsychosis in the *Phaedo*: the unjust, tyrannical, and violent reincarnate in wolves or hawks or kites. In a curious passage of the *Timaeus* the righteous man returns to a blessed existence in his star. If less righteous, or wicked, he reincarnates in a woman; if this does not cure him of evil, he transmigrates through many animals until he attains his "first and better nature."

Though these eschatological notions matured slowly, religion finally consolidated them, and established them firmly. In *The City of God* St. Augustine repudiates metempsychosis, and Porphyry's reincarnation in human bodies only, for a single return of souls to their bodies. The "lake of brimstone and fire" makes punitive metempsychosis superfluous. If, St. Augustine comments, some "worms" live in fervent springs, and salamanders live in the fire, the wicked can endure in the torturing flames. Heaven and Hell were well established in St. Augustine's days, and again in the Koran. Such developed eschatology fostered the belief in survival bequeathed from ancient times. Religion guaranteed the belief, and nurtured it by incorporation into the whole powerful system of religious faith.

St. Augustine, the salamander, and the worm have their moral: religion, often fortified by philosophy, tried to make puzzles

intelligible. When resurrection of the body, for instance, troubled faith, the doctrine of the spiritual body tried to relieve perplexity. Confirmatory reflective thought had one severe task. Primitive thought simply accepted survival without considering whether the soul could survive. The Homeric shadowy ghost simply does flit off in the pyre smoke; Cebes and others suspect that the soul cannot remain intact. The soul must be shown to be able to survive, Socrates realizes, or even to be essentially immortal by its very nature. Since the 'self-moving' cannot be created or destroyed, he argues in the *Phaedrus,* the soul is immortal because it is self-moving. The soul cannot be compounded of many elements, he infers in the *Republic,* because its immortality has been previously proved.

In the eighteenth century Berkeley still justifies the "natural immortality of the soul": nature cannot destroy this *"active, simple, uncompounded substance"*. Berkeley's 'active' corresponds to the 'self-moving' of Socrates. His argument from simplicity to natural immortality reverses the Socratic inference. He also qualifies the essential immortality of the soul: nature cannot annihilate the *naturally* immortal soul, but God can.

The nature of the soul, however, constantly troubled exposition. An *immaterial* soul eludes understanding when it is, as Berkeley says it is, not only "indivisible" and "incorporeal", but *unextended.* According to Stout, in this century metaphysicians have made the soul unintelligible to common sense by making it purely immaterial. For early belief the soul was extended enough to be intelligible, though often more shadowy than the obviously corporeal body. The *extended incorporeal* of the Cambridge Platonists, in the seventeenth century, tried to ease this trouble. The soul, on this notion, is incorporeal, but, though not "grossly corporeal" like the body, it is *extended.*

This extended incorporeal is self-active; it can penetrate bodies, and it can expand or contract almost indefinitely. It always remains intact, for, though penetrable, it cannot be divided. Milton's Satan closely corresponds to this extended incorporeal of Cambridge Platonism. When alarmed, for instance, he collects his might, and, fixed as "Teneriff or Atlas", stretches his stature to the sky. To enter the toad or snake he must greatly shrink. Michael's sword can gash Satan, but cannot wound him permanently, for the "etherial substance", like an extended incorporeal, though penetrable, cannot be divided.

The soul has been crudely identified with a little mannikin inside the body. This version is *animistic.* Any version is animistic, if the soul, like the mannikin, is a separate entity that remains intactly itself, however it inhabits the body, or whenever it leaves

that body. The primitive soul or ghost is such an animistic occupant that can survive death. Survival hardly seems possible unless the soul is essentially animistic in nature. It may be a purely immaterial counterpart of the crude mannikin, but it must be an entity like it, keeping itself intact, even if it is conceived as an incorporeally unextended being. However successfully the extended incorporeal soul of Cambridge Platonism retains its animistic occupancy, modern notions do not favour an animistic mind, or soul, as it is usually called, in discussing immortality.

According to W. E. Barnes in 1933, "what is usually called 'animism' must be rejected." Ryle's more recent *The Concept of Mind* implements this repudiation by its vigorous attack on "the ghost mysteriously ensconced in a machine." If "an immaterial soul" cannot be rightly said to be "present in a material body," as Barnes says, and *if* animistic occupancy is necessary for survival, there can be no life after death.

Survival is normally the *personal* immortality of the individual soul. Reincarnation or metempsychosis sends the individual soul on a round of births, but it, at least, tends to blur personal survival. A rival tradition has constantly blended the soul into a non-individual immortality.

> Imperious Caesar, dead, and turn'd to clay,
> Might stop a hole to keep the wind away.

The immortality of the body by blending its substance with physical nature has its presumed analogue in the domain of soul or spirit

According to Cornford, the soul was primarily immortal as the collective soul and impersonal life of the group. This early view, if it existed, has recognizable later analogues. For Aristotle, as W. R. Inge notes, the impersonal 'nous' is immortal; as Grote puts it, this 'nous' is immortal, not the individual Socrates. Mysticism, Keyserling affirms, always ends in impersonal immortality. If mysticism is the art of *union* with reality, as has been said, it is likely to become absorption in that reality. For Plotinus, Inge notes, discarnate souls are, at least in a sense, absorbed in the Universal Soul. During one moment of a dream Sir Humphry Davy seemed to become "diffused in the atmosphere." In the "state called reverie," Shelley affirms, the surroundings seem to dissolve the subject, or be absorbed into his being. Swinburne yearns to mix "the great sweet mother . . . the sea" with himself, which involves being mixed with her. Such experiences of being, or desiring to be, blended connect with beliefs in immortality by absorption.

Each person, says Shelley, is a portion of one mind, and the

poet participates in the eternal, the infinite, and the one. In Islam, for instance, the true mystic cast off himself in God. Some mystics shirked the non-survival of the personality in the union, but the more common idea, Tritton notes, is an actual absorption of the soul in Deity. This notion of absorption in a Universal Soul or in Reality or in God, with protests from time to time against the completeness of the absorption, runs through mystical types of thinking in East and West. In 1930 the very notion of individual immortality seems to J. S. Haldane to be counter to religion. Experience suggests no such personal survival, and God, the "supreme and only reality," is present in each man as Personality to give him the only reality he has. Thus "in religion we lose our apparent individual selves in the personality of God," and we are "immortal or beyond the apparent vicissitudes of time" only in union.

The soul, Cebes and his fellows fear, may leave the body to dissolve like smoke into nothingness. Doctrines of union or absorption, ostensibly mystical or not, substitute for "nothingness" a Universal Soul, or inner Reality, or God. The soul then survives as Caesar's flesh survives in the clay, or as a cupful of water in the ocean.

Belief in survival after death enforces itself upon men to challenge reflective thought. Religion becomes its great foster mother, incorporating the future life into its faith, and enlisting metaphysics to guarantee the soul's competency to survive. It is trusted for reassurance when belief falters over the nature of the soul. For Cudworth, in the seventeenth century, belief in immortality does not depend upon the substantiality of the soul, but upon God's goodness. Today, in one desperate resort, religion itself smothers the belief, for Haldane's merging of the personal self is no immortality at all. In 1933, for W. E. Barnes, agreeing with Rashdall, the beliefs in God and immortality stand or fall together, "in the long run." Only the establishment of "ethical, or Christian, theism" can maintain "belief in personal immortality," since the adequate arguments for the second result from those for the first. Thus belief in immortality, deprived of its animistic soul, and unable to ground belief on the soul's own nature, is compelled to shelter in the niche provided by religious beliefs.

This represents one perceptible run of thought from first beliefs in survival through the present chaos of eschatological ideas.

REVIEWS

The reviews are in four divisions:

Theology and relevant studies: works of scholarship ranging from dogmatic theology and church history to psychology and cosmology.

Religion, life and work: books concerned with the daily application of religion and its popular exposition.

Miscellanea: a limited selection from current general literature.

Periodical publications.

THEOLOGY
AND RELEVANT STUDIES

A History of Christianity. By K. S. LATOURETTE. 1,516 pp. Eyre and Spottiswoode. 63s.

Professor Latourette has already established himself as a notable authority by his seven-volume *History of the Expansion of Christianity*. This work, however, comes into a different category and must be appraised by other standards. Few tasks require such encyclopaedic knowledge as writing a one-man history of Christianity, and few tasks lay the author open to such variety of criticism as to accuracy of detail, choice of material, bias, balance, judgment. Though Canon Roger Lloyd goes a little far in suggesting that Professor Latourette is above criticism, it should be recognized that there are probably very few living historians with so wide-sweeping a knowledge of Christianity in every age and against every background. There are greater experts in various fields, but none with his comprehensiveness. We therefore need to be cautious in criticizing. Dr. Latourette has accomplished a titanic task, and has done it remarkably well.

But for whom is the book intended? Dr. Latourette hopes it will be "helpful as a text-book". It may be, but the student will need to do a good deal of supplementary reading, particularly for the first six centuries and for the Reformation. There are good bibliographies, but few notes or references. The style is somewhat wordy, and a little more conciseness would have permitted the inclusion of more facts, such as the names, which are known, of the "three bishops from Britain" who attended the Council of Arles (p. 78). I would rather commend the book as excellent variant reading for the student and as a most admirable general conspectus of Christian history for the general reader. Defects as a text-book become merits for general reading: the style is lively, easy, vital. The author is enthusiastic and optimistic about his theme, rightly denying the possibility of "pure objectivity" is historical study (p. xxi). This work has another significant feature, for it devotes a far greater proportion of space to the medieval and post-Reformation periods than is customary. If the earlier period and the Reformation suffer, there is compensation in the masterly survey of the dark ages and in the bringing of the history right up to date: 1815 to 1952 claims more than a quarter of the book. This may be a disproportion for the student, but is invaluable for the general reader. It is also commendable that the author pays much more than the customary attention to the Eastern Churches and to some other out-of-the-way aspects of Christian history.

Though, as some might have hoped, this is not a "text-book to replace

all text-books", the student, general or specialist, will gain a better conspectus of Christian history by reading this book than any other I know; and its unconventional balance and emphases are possibly right. We may have been right in the weight given to the early period and the Reformation; but Dr. Latourette makes clear how much we have underestimated the significance of the medieval and modern periods. This is a really great book, in which the author gives us the results of a lifetime's study and reflection. A. R. VINE.

The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes. New Studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls. By A. DUPONT-SOMMER. Translated by R. D. BARNETT. 195 pp. Valentine, Mitchell. 10s. 6d.

This book provides the further survey which was foreshadowed by Professor Dupont-Sommer's previous study (*The Dead Sea Scrolls* (1952), reviewed in *C.Q.* xxx (1952), p. 364). The same historical background for the life and death of the Teacher of Righteousness is here affirmed, namely the time of the later Hasmoneans. The detailed historical application is, however, of less importance than the survey which is given of the relationship between the Sect of Qumran, as it is now called, and the Essenes. Almost the whole of the "Manual of Discipline" here appears in translation, together with many apt quotations from other literature, to illustrate the remarkable organization of the Sect, its beliefs and practices, and its relationship to older Jewish and non-Jewish groups and influences.

The archaeological evidence from the excavation of the Qumran sites has made Professor Dupont-Sommer's identification of the Sect with the Essenes much more probable. The uncertainties which still abound in our knowledge of the two centuries 100 B.C. to A.D. 100 must inevitably leave a margin of doubt, and not every point will convince the reader. The importance of the material for the study of Christian origins is what will most interest the majority. The affinities in organization, rites and dogmas are here indicated, though not fully drawn out. The chapter on "The Community of the Covenant and the Origins of Christianity", taken together with the actual translations of the material, gives some indication of the rich results to be expected from further detailed study. The whole of the intertestamental literature may well need to be re-valued in the light of these texts as they are more clearly interpreted. Not least valuable is a postscript to cover some of the more recent finds, some related to the earlier material, others concerning the revolt of Bar Kochba in the second century A.D. and even later movements. PETER R. ACKROYD.

The Birth of Christianity. By MAURICE GOGUEL. Translated by H. C. Snape. 558 pp. Allen & Unwin. 42s.

This is a very welcome translation of the famous French scholar's *La Naissance du Christianisme* (1946). The book traces the course of Christianity from its origin in belief in the Resurrection, through its failure to develop within the cramping framework of Judaism and its development in a Hellenistic environment, accompanied by the conflict between the Jewish and Gentile forms of the faith, to the Church's growing struggle with heresy within and persecution from without. Goguel is an independent and provocative thinker, whose opinions always demand careful attention even where they do not win assent. His treatment of the Resurrection is important, though controversial. In this book he depends on conclusions reached in a special work on the subject, *La foi à la résurrection* (1933). The stories of the empty tomb and of the Resurrection appearances were originally two different expressions of the same belief, which were later correlated. The Galilean tradition of the appearances is older than the

Jerusalem tradition, which emerged from the desire to link the appearances with the empty tomb and from the importance of Jerusalem. "The resurrection of Jesus is in reality the resurrection of that faith in him which the disciples had had during his ministry" (p. 61). Goguel's emphasis on the psychological nature of the appearances means that his attitude to the Resurrection is really entirely subjective. It is therefore not altogether satisfactory, because it leaves out of account the possibility that psychological states leading to visions do not exclude some objective cause which, however the Resurrection experience may be interpreted, must surely remain an inescapable element of Christian faith. Goguel regards the story of Peter's denial as unhistorical; he accepts the tradition of the early death of John the apostle along with his brother James; he regards the "famine visit" in *Acts* as a doublet, from a different source, of the Jerusalem Council in chapter 15; he denies that the speech on the Areopagus can be attributed to Paul; and he judges *I Peter* to be unauthentic. Many would dissent from all these judgments, and from others which could be mentioned. But this does not detract from the permanent value of the book as a masterpiece of erudition and a mine of information. Of particular merit are the discussion of heresies and the thorough examination of the complex question of the Roman persecutions.

It is a pity that such a finely produced book should be marred by the results of careless proof-reading and by lack of attention to detail. Misprints are fairly numerous; names are wrongly spelt, e.g. Leitzmann (even in the index), and *James* Weiss (p. 141 and the index); there are inconsistencies of spelling: Nicolaitanes (p. 169), Nicolaitani (p. 322), Nicolaitans (p. 409); Johannism (p. 347), Johanninism (pp. 348f.); the reproduction of Greek is usually execrable; and a book of this size deserves more than an inadequate index of names.

New Testament Studies. By C. H. Dodd. 182 pp. Manchester University Press. 16s.

Dr. Dodd here collects eight papers which have appeared in various journals and which, needless to say, constitute a volume of the highest worth. In the first paper he argues that in addition to *pericopae*, whether isolated or connected by unity of theme or in other ways, Mark took over from tradition an outline of the ministry of Jesus, fragments of which survive in the framework of his Gospel. In the second paper he examines in detail the second-century British Museum fragments of an unknown Gospel (*Egerton Papyrus* 2), the revised text of which is here reprinted, and comes to the conclusion that direct relation to the Fourth Gospel alone can be established. Among the other papers we are glad to have the two well-known essays on "The Mind of Paul", originally published in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, in which Dr. Dodd finds a change both of temper and of thought in the later epistles. This involves the challenge of the Ephesian hypothesis in its various forms. An examination of Professor Duncan's statement of the case leads Dr. Dodd to reaffirm the traditional view that the captivity epistles were written in Rome. The remaining essays concern "Matthew and Paul", "Natural Law in the New Testament", "The Communion of Saints" and "Eternal Life".

The Living Flame. By Maurice Barnett. 152 pp. Epworth Press. 15s.

This book is described as "a study of the gift of the Spirit in the New Testament, with special reference to prophecy, glossolalia, Montanism and perfection". It is a thorough piece of work written out of the practical experience of the ministry, and is to be commended for its usefulness, its clarity, and its balanced estimate of the place of the Spirit in the life of the

Church. The analogy between the decline of prophetism in Judaism and in the early Church is clearly brought out. There are good discussions of the Pentecost experience, the Corinthian "tongue-speech", and Montanism as an attempt to revive living inspiration in the wrong way; and there is much valuable illustration of abnormal phenomena in the later history of the Church. A. J. B. Higgins.

A Christian Palestinian Syriac Horologion. Edited by Matthew Black. 458 pp. C.U.P. 70s.

This is the first volume in the new series of Texts and Studies published by the Cambridge University Press, under the general editorship of C. H. Dodd. The present work is a hitherto unpublished liturgical text in Palestinian Syriac. Its appeal is wider than the title suggests. This is largely due to the careful editing, the clear translation, and the helpful introduction supplied by Dr. Black. Those interested in Syriac will rejoice to have access to so valuable a text. There is a valuable chapter, under the heading "Vocabulary", which contains new words and new meanings of words previously known. It forms a valuable addition to the Syriac Lexicon. Those interested in Liturgy now have in translation a complete Malkite Horologion belonging to the Syrian branch of the Greek Orthodox Church. It contains hymns and prayers which have disappeared from the main Greek tradition. Those interested in Doctrine and History will note several important items: the Horologion supplies a literary link connecting the Malkite Christian Community with an early form of the Jewish Christian Church in Palestine; it shows that the Malkites believed themselves to be a distinct Christian Church, independent of the Byzantine Greek Church; and it shows that for some time at least the Malkites were Monothelites. As Dr. Black says, "our Horologion is also a last relic of Monothelitism". The book is beautifully produced. There are four facsimile illustrations, the usual critical notes, and indexes. James Wood.

Leaders of Early Christian Thought. By S. H. Mellone. 243 pp. Lindsey Press. 15s.

The author of this book sets out to help those who "contemplate a systematic study of Christian theology, are interested in the history of the subject, but who are often, at the outset, bewildered". In this aim he has excellently succeeded. The book is too slight and too innocent of dates to be regarded as a text-book; but it does give an admirably concise and clear account of the unfolding of the main lines of Christian doctrine during the early centuries. Christology, the Trinity, the Sacraments and the other great themes are dealt with, the ancient terms are patiently explained, and the significance and greatness of men like Irenaeus, Origen, the Cappadocians and Augustine clearly emerge. A book to be commended to the enquiring layman or to the student who wants to see the wood before studying the trees. A. R. Vine.

Origen's Treatise on Prayer. Translation and notes by E. G. Jay. 237 pp. S.P.C.K. 27s. 6d.

This competent work is a result of the revived interest in Origen. The Introduction deals with the development of prayer in the early Church and briefly outlines the general significance of Origen. Then we have the translation of this treatise; no Greek text is printed, though the notes are largely concerned with textual emendations. After disposing of certain intellectual difficulties about prayer, Origen proceeds to deal comprehensively with both the theory and practice of prayer, and half the treatise is given to an examination of the Lord's Prayer. Pray for the big things,

and the little things will be added: that is the counsel of a master. But it makes Origen miss the plain meaning of "Give us this day our daily bread", which he will have to mean spiritual food, true manna. This is unfortunately typical; Origen's fondness for philosophic digression and the subtlety of his mind prevent him becoming the perfect authority on prayer, although he is, in Dr. Jay's words, "a man of prayer, a practising Christian of rare devotion", and this treatise is rewarding both for its spiritual acumen and for its thoroughness. E. C. BLACKMAN.

Church and State from Constantine to Theodosius. By S. L. GREENSLADE. 93 pp. S.C.M. 7s. 6d.

Professor Greenslade has produced yet another study in which his masterly knowledge of the early Christian centuries is made the basis for constructive reflections on current problems. He sees in the period under review three modes of relation: supreme benevolent state, Constantine; free interdependence of church and state, Valentinian; church ascendant, Theodosius. His comments on each of these modes are shrewd and penetrating, but he offers no easy solution: "In practice, the relations between Church and State will always be anxious and difficult, demanding strenuous thought and prudent statesmanship" (p. 84). Though a short study, full tables of dates are provided and an index.

An Approach to Christian Doctrine. Edited by G. P. LEWIS. 256 pp. Epworth. 10s. 6d.

This book, by ten Methodist scholars, is intended for Methodist Local Preachers. It fulfils that intention very satisfactorily, dealing with the main divisions of Christian doctrine simply and clearly. The average point of view may be described as liberal orthodox. It is interesting to note how tactfully Methodism is freeing itself from the shackles of Wesley: these studies have to be linked with his sermons, but less than a sixth of the space is given to their analysis and exposition! This is not criticism, but commendation. Though written for a defined purpose, the book would be of real service to anyone wishing for a simple and orderly exposition of the main lines of Christian doctrine.

God and the Supernatural. Edited by Fr. CUTHBERT. 252 pp. Sheed and Ward. 12s. 6d.

This is a reprint of the 1936 abridged edition of a book published in 1920. It is therefore somewhat dated, though the abridgement of 1936 was also a revision. In spite of the title, the book is really a clear factual statement of Roman Catholic doctrine, under the headings God, Man, Sin, Atonement, Church, Sacraments, Immortality. The work is well done, and much of it cannot fail to help the Protestant reader, whose ideas of Catholic doctrine are often very vague. There are, of course, the claims, so regrettable from our point of view, of Papal supremacy and infallibility: "The Pope, and the episcopate when united with the Pope, is the one official teaching utterance of the Spirit" (p. 185); and what do we make of this: "The Pope is infallible, Popes have made mistakes; the papacy is holy, but Popes can sin" (p. 180)?

How Jesus Christ Saves Men. By N. L. ROBINSON. 222 pp. James Clarke. 12s. 6d.

The first third of this book gives a concise and mainly reliable summary of the Biblical and historical views of the Atonement. Then follows the author's view, which is inevitably a composite of some of those that have gone before. As is the modern tendency, his main emphasis is on the subjective and personal, though the metaphysical and corporate aspects are

by no means ignored. His interests are genuinely religious, and the book has devotional as well as intellectual value. The writer was a Presbyterian scholar-minister, who died before his book was ready for printing. His brother, Mr. K. G. Robinson, is to be congratulated on putting it into final shape and seeing it through the press. A. R. VINE.

The Righteousness of God. Luther Studies. By GORDON RUPP. 375 pp. Hodder & Stoughton. 25s.

The English Religious Tradition. By NORMAN SYKES. 121 pp. S.C.M. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Gordon Rupp, Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge, in this study of Luther offers us a new vindication of Luther from the legendary half-truths which have been spread by his detractors as much as by his too ardent supporters. This, the first section of his book, is the most original and the most diverting; it is also, perhaps, the least useful to students of the relevance of Luther the religious thinker. His second section, entitled *Coram Deo*, is a survey of the development of his thought from his grappling with the meaning of the Psalms to faith to his disputation at Heidelberg, when his thought is objectified *coram populo*. The third section is a comprehensive account of the relationships of the great Reformer's thought with Erasmus, on the question of Church and State, on the distinction between the true and the false Church. There is a final chapter on Luther the man. Should the reader be wondering why it was necessary to bring out this full-length study of Luther the thinker, so recently after Professor Roland Bainton's biography, *Here I stand*, the answer is that this is primarily a study in the development of the thought of Luther, not a narration of the events of his life; and, secondly, Gordon Rupp offers us the fruits of much German and Scandinavian scholarship which would be otherwise largely unknown to English students.

Professor Norman Sykes has been, along with Dr. Newton Flew, one of Gordon Rupp's masters in research. This work, though slight in comparison with earlier volumes on the Church in the eighteenth century and his recent essay on the development of ecumenical thought in English Church history (in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement*), has the clarity and the catholicity that we expect of him. I doubt if anyone has ever managed in so small a space to convey so much of the variety of the English religious tradition, including such modern developments as missions, the 'social gospel', and re-union.

Puritanism and Richard Baxter. By HUGH MARTIN. 223 pp. S.C.M. 15s.

William Roby: 1766-1830. By W. GORDON ROBINSON. 176 pp. Independent Press. 8s. 6d.

Dr. Hugh Martin's book is a mural, and Principal Robinson's is a cameo; both large brushstrokes and an impressionistic manner characterize the work of the former editor of the S.C.M. Press and a delicate detail the miniaturist's contribution to scholarship made by the Principal of Lancashire College. But Dr. Martin cannot be said to add anything to our knowledge that was not available in Powicke's studies of Baxter, though he does place him in the rapidly expanding context of his age and draw attention to Baxter's many-sidedness. It is probably true that the best way to interpret an age is through the eyes of one of its most distinguished contemporaries; Baxter, too, in the acute religious wars of seventeenth-century England is irenical, ecumenical, and a "meer Catholick", and that is refreshing after reading the heated statements of the partizans. Dr. Martin also gives a

fair account of the Protean forms that Puritanism took in politics, though Woodhouse and Schenk offer an account that is clearer and subtler. As an introduction to Puritanism to the ordinary reader the book is wholly admirable, written in a pellucid and interesting style. But there have been so many; why was it necessary *now*, when the revaluation of Puritanism is far from complete? Still, the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council has probably good reason to know how little the Puritan heritage of the Free Churches is being appropriated by their successors today!

Dr. Gordon Robinson offers us a book that is largely the result of original research, except in its preliminary chapter on the decay of Dissent and the beginnings of revival. The subject of his study, the Rev. William Roby, deserves the treatment that he has been given, for, apart from his almost episcopal predominance in Manchester, he was a founding father of the London Missionary Society, a convinced supporter of the British and Foreign Bible Society and of the Religious Tract Society; he was the man who won the great Robert Moffat for the African mission field and was founder-in-chief of Lancashire Independent College. No case, therefore, had to be made out for writing a biography of him and Dr. Robinson's biography fills a genuine gap. What is, however, most regrettable is that a work of much greater length had to be cut to these modest proportions of 176 pages. It is still a task of the utmost urgency in the history of the Free Churches to provide modern critical biographies of the non-Methodist and non-Anglican Evangelicals; these fields are only just beginning to be reaped. Let us hope that now Dr. Robinson is at home in this period he will write, or encourage one of his pupils to write, a biography of Dr. Bogue or of that brilliant Lancashire College theologian, Scott, who seems to have been the parent of the Christian Socialists whether Anglican, like F. D. Maurice, or Independent, like J. Baldwin Brown.

HORTON DAVIES.

John Wesley. By C. E. VULLIAMY. 370 pp. Epworth. 18s.

The jacket of this volume (which is a reprint of a book which has been out of print for twenty years) carries impressive quotations from critics who hailed its publication in 1931 and its second edition a year later. These are still justified, for the book was well worth re-issue. It stands as one of the most enlightening biographies of Wesley which we have. Its value lies in its understanding of the social and theological background and its critical though sympathetic evaluation of the complex character of John Wesley and of the work which he performed. It deals understandingly with the controversial sides of the Wesley story—the "Cyrus, Varanese and Aspasia" episode, Grace Murray, the marriage with widow Vazeille, the strange physical and psychological phenomena which accompanied some sides of the Evangelical Revival, the "ordinations", and so on. It contains a wealth of minor biography in which the author gives us clear-cut cameos of Wesley's contemporaries. It is easy to read and presents the reader with a satisfying portrait. One word of disappointment: one could have wished that the bibliography had been brought up to date. Certainly the jacket mentions some of the many books on Wesley published by Epworth since Vulliamy first appeared; but the general reader ought also to know, for example, about Bonamy Dobree's study and R. A. Knox's penetrating chapters in *Enthusiasm*.

Methodism and Catholicism, by John Lawson (47 pp., S.P.C.K., 3s. 6d.) is a comment by an "unofficial Methodist" on the possibilities of full communion between the Church of England and the Free Churches. The writer fears lest Methodism should "drift off into the position of an avowed

Nonconformist sect" and tries to show that "English Methodism presents the largest available field for Catholic permeation".

W. Gordon Robinson.

The Spiritual Letters of Dom John Chapman. Edited by Dom Roger Hudleston, O.S.B. Second edition. 342 pp. Sheed and Ward. 12s. 6d.

This is an enlarged edition of a well-known book, first published in 1935. John Chapman began his career as an Anglican, but the Roman Church attracted him by its logical order and he became a Roman Catholic in 1890. In 1929 he became Abbot of Downside, and he died in 1933 at the age of 68. He was a patristic scholar and a member of the Commission on the revision of the Vulgate.

These 'spiritual' letters are very interesting, and not less so is the excellent preface by the present Abbot of Downside. The letters exhibit a highly specialized type of spiritual direction that presupposes a logical, almost mathematical, theological system which it is the business of 'direction' to expound. Chapman's letters will not afford much guidance to the plain man, but to those who are given to theological speculation they provoke discussion on almost every page. The meaning of the word 'spiritual' therefore needs some measure of definition, and although bright young Catholics nowadays have been found to smile at F. W. Faber, there is probably more real understanding of the human soul in Faber's *Spiritual Conferences* than in these letters before us. The long letters 82 and 83 to a Jesuit scholastic are particularly characteristic, for they display precisely that logical schematization of headings, sub-headings and sub-sub-headings which for some people passes for thought, but which is no more than a refinement of analysis.

A. Victor Murray.

James Henry Rushbrooke. By Ernest A. Payne. 96 pp. Carey Kingsgate. 5s.

Edward Keble Talbot. By G. P. H. Pawson. 182 pp. S.P.C.K. 17s. 6d.

N. P. Williams. By Eric Waldram Kemp. 226 pp. S.P.C.K. 21s.

The day of the full-length biography of religious leaders seems to be passing in favour of briefer memoirs to which are attached a selection of writings. Of these three books the first is purely a brief memoir, and one could have wished it had been longer so as to include at least some of the useful but not easily accessible addresses and pamphlets of Dr. Rushbrooke. The other two books are filled out (in the best sense) with eight sermons and two papers by Dr. Williams, and with miscellaneous biographical sketches and letters from the pen of Father Talbot. Each in its own way does what it sets out to do and does it well, all the more so as the biographers are younger friends and contemporaries of those of whom they write.

Dr. Payne's study brings to life again the remarkable career of a great Baptist leader who fostered, deepened, and in many places created, a sense of unity and brotherhood among his people throughout the world and at the same time was active in ecumenical labours. His work for the Baptist World Alliance was part of the paradox and the problem of the rise of denominational world-organizations, all with their own acute self-consciousness alongside the movement towards unity in the World Council of Churches. Father Pawson sets Father Talbot, the superior of the Community of the Resurrection, against the background of the life of the Community, and his book is valuable for its character studies (by Talbot) of his friends as well as for its sketch of Talbot himself. But it is doubtful

whether the Talbot letters which are included are of value except to those who belong to the Community. Canon Kemp's memoir of Dr. N. P. Williams, with an addendum by Mrs. Williams, is full and illuminating and is valuable *inter alia* for the light it sheds on the work of the Society of SS. Peter and Paul. The sermons which are included are first-rate in their thought and full of meat. Free Churchmen will naturally be more interested in Dr. Payne on Rushbrooke than in the other two books. But to read all three of them in succession is to be aware of the bewildering variety of religious experience and emphasis within the life of the churches in England. W. Gordon Robinson.

The Development of the Papacy. H. Burn-murdoch. 432 pp. Faber and Faber. 42s.

The Church and Infallibility. B. C. Butler. 230 pp. Sheed and Ward. 12s. 6d.

One and Holy. Karl Adam. 102 pp. Sheed and Ward. 7s. 6d.

Controversy with the Papists is an ungrateful occupation; and on the whole Protestants are apt merely to disregard the claims made by and on behalf of the Bishop of Rome. Yet the case should not go by default, since Rome continues to make these claims. These three books show some of the issues to be dealt with and provide some of the material for the task.

Dr. Burn-murdoch has given an exhaustive examination of the evidence by which the Papists seek to prove that it is part of the original Christian tradition that the successor of St. Peter is the Supreme Pontiff and the Vicar of Christ. This comprises the greater part of the book (373 pages), after which there is an equally valuable section on the definition of the Immaculate Conception, the Vatican Council of 1870, and Papal Infallibility. There is also an appendix on the definition of the Corporeal Assumption of the Virgin Mary (1950). Dr. Burn-murdoch's method is almost scholastic in its detailed thoroughness: when he is examining what Ignatius, for example, wrote that is regarded as supporting papal claims, he sets forth the evidence plainly, with an abundance of footnotes, and then indicates why this has been thought to give this support and why this view may be regarded as mistaken. The general impression, after all the evidence is thus fairly handled, is that there is very little indeed that *need* bear the papistical interpretation: much of it *may* bear this meaning, provided that it has been decided *a priori* that it should. This book, in fact, is a cumulative demolition of papal claims; and as such it will be a useful armoury in the day when controversy is required of us.

Whether some Papist scholar will be charged to reply to Dr. Burn-murdoch it will be interesting to see: if so, he will have to do better than the Abbot of Downside, whose task is to reply to the recently published abridged edition (1952) of Dr. George Salmon's *The Infallibility of the Church* (1889), which has long been regarded as a trusty controversial weapon. What is so disappointing about this closely argued and able book by Dr. Butler is that, while it deals with details and scores not a few points, it never really comes to grips with the main issues between unreformed and reformed Christianity—the nature of religious truth and of authority, the basis of doctrine and the whole question of infallibility, the right ordering of the Church, the supremacy of Scripture over ecclesiastical tradition, and so on. If Protestants are to be persuaded that Salmon was fundamentally wrong, they will demand more than a list of alleged mistakes on points of detail, more than a reminder that things look different from the inside and the outside of any organized fellowship. A galaxy of scintillating skirmishes

is all very well; but what is needed is a full-dress battle. It is hard not to think that these main issues are avoided; and a comparison of Abbot Butler's and Dr. Burn-murdoch's handling of the same evidence is illuminating. There are misprints on pp. 62, 101 and 133.

Karl Adam lives in an almost different world. *One and Holy* consists of three lectures, delivered at Stuttgart and Karlsruhe to large gatherings of the *Una Sancta* movement, whose purpose appears to be to explore the ground between Catholicism and Lutheranism. Inevitably, therefore, this book has a somewhat limited appeal for British readers, because it is written for an essentially German situation. Nevertheless it has its rich rewards for those who will read it. Here is a Papist's real attempt to appreciate and understand Luther; here also is a passion for Christian unity, which, while it is certain that reunion means going home to Rome, is based on love and understanding. Karl Adam says much that no Protestant would say or accept; yet the reader often feels that he is living in the same world with him. On the other hand, Abbot Butler seems to belong to a realm in which a Protestant feels an entire stranger. Which apologist really speaks for Rome? JOHN HUXTABLE.

Why The Church? By JOHN FOSTER. 112 pp. S.C.M. 5s.

Three threads are discernible in this little book: the experiences of the author as a missionary in China; his concern with early Church history; and his concern for the World Church today. The result is a very readable monograph, part history and part comment. The comments on the origin and nature of divisions within the Church are informed and sagacious, and the author is for co-operation and essential unity rather than for mere organizational uniformity: "Diversity is often due to the blessing of God. Division is always due to man's mishandling of it. There lies the problem of unity" (p. 107). A useful study. A. R. VINE.

Christian Deviations. By HORTON DAVIES. 126 pp. S.C.M. 7s. 6d.

Dr. Horton Davies has written (to quote his own words) a "defence of the historic Christian faith by distinguishing it from those systems which imitate it and yet distort it". He reviews concisely the history and tenets of ten cults which are deviations from the true Christian faith—Theosophy, Christian Science, Spiritism, Seventh-Day Adventism, Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormons, British-Israel, M.R.A. ("Oxford Group"), Astrology and "Open-air Religion". Since Dr. Horton Davies has shown in this book (as in *The English Free Churches*) that he is a master of assessment by numbers, we may perhaps borrow his method for the purposes of this review. Firstly, it is superbly interesting; secondly, it is marked by careful scholarship and sound judgment; thirdly, it is fair-minded in its attempts to show the good as well as the dangerous sides of these deviationary cults; fourthly, it puts the modern rivals of Christianity in their place among the heretical perversions of the faith which have occurred before; fifthly, it judges all these rivals by their distance from "the centre" (which is found in the great communions of Christendom which accept the Lordship of Jesus Christ as recorded in the Scriptures and to which the creeds bear witness); sixthly, it provides a modern apologetic for the Faith and a guide to Christians who are puzzled by the zeal, the apparent success, and the speciousness of the claims of Christianity's rivals; and (still to copy the author's style) "furthermore" he has been bold enough to include the Oxford Group, and "moreover" he adds a bibliography. This will be a most useful book for ministers and Church-members and especially valuable as a basis for discussion groups. W. GORDON ROBINSON.

Nature, Mind and Modern Science. By ERROL E. HARRIS. 455 pp. Allen & Unwin. 35s.

This is a large and important book, which surveys in its course almost the whole history of European philosophy. But its purpose is not historical. Its aim is to bring back present-day philosophy from what the writer considers to be unprofitable ways; and to turn its course again to the form of thought dominant in Britain at the beginning of the century, which was neo-Hegelianism. A neo-Hegelian philosophy, it is contended, can alone do justice to the fundamental philosophical question of the relation between man and nature. On the one hand man is a part of nature: on the other hand he transcends nature in making it the object of his knowledge. How can so apparently insignificant a product of nature turn round upon it with a claim and power so tremendous? Hegel, inspired by Kant, gave the right answer to this question, but could not bring his thought to full fruition because of the state of science in his day. The neo-Hegelians somewhat improved upon Hegel, but a further advance still has been made possible by the revolution in science which began in the nineteenth century and culminated in the twentieth. To show this is what Professor Harris undertakes.

If the purpose of the book is not historical, its method is so: hence the great survey of history it contains. A preliminary study of Greek philosophy shows the emergence of the problem of man and nature. But it was first envisaged clearly in what Professor Harris speaks of as the philosophy of the 'Renaissance': he uses the name in an unusual way, not for the philosophy contemporary with the actual Renaissance, but for that of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—on the one hand Descartes set man and nature in sharp opposition to one another as mind and matter, while on the other hand Locke, Berkeley and Hume successively struggled with the problem of knowledge, assuming that it was to be approached psychologically through the ideas in the mind—Descartes having sundered man as mind from nature, Locke, Berkeley and Hume showed how difficult was the passage from the mind to the nature that appeared to environ it. Spinoza and Leibniz, each in his own way, tried to bridge the gulf: but only Hegel finally succeeded in doing so by his conception of Absolute Spirit, which first expressed itself unconsciously in nature, and then came to consciousness in man. Hegel, however, could not foresee how modern science, first in the sphere of biology, and then in that of physics, would confirm his great conception. The key was put into the hands of philosophy, when in the nineteenth century modern thought became dominated by the principle of evolution through the influence of biology. But the British neo-Hegelians, Bosanquet excepted, were slow to take full advantage of the new scientific development. Most of them conceded too much to the "Renaissance" opposition; and presently that came into power again in a new and more subtle form in the empirical philosophy of such thinkers as Russell, Price and the modern Positivists. The criticism to be passed on all empiricism is that in maintaining that all knowledge is based on sensation it is making a metaphysical assertion that cannot be justified from sensation.

The return to a better philosophy governed by the principle of evolution was made by Bergson, who was followed by Alexander and finally by Whitehead, in whom Professor Harris sees the highest point so far reached; though there is still much to do before philosophy can be said to have assimilated all that science has now to offer. As a matter of fact, the new physics appears in the closing pages of "Nature, Mind and Modern Science" as a very partially digested mass: the Professor's claim to have absorbed it is hardly justified. What is entirely just however is his criticism of

empiricism and his vindication of Hegelianism as a better, even if not fully satisfactory, philosophy. Professor Harris has written a courageous book; and the very full and thorough account of the various philosophies taken into account makes it valuable as a book of reference.

Authority and Freedom. By Robert H. Thouless. 124 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 8s. 6d.

Dr. Thouless discusses religious belief as a psychologist, not as a theologian. He asks three questions: (1) Is there now a decline in religious conviction?; (2) Can a modern man reasonably accept a religious system of thought?; (3) Are religious ideas presented to him in an unnecessarily difficult form? In answering these questions Dr. Thouless has special regard to the position of the Church of England, with its Articles of Religion and its Creeds. Question (1) is answered in the affirmative. Question (2) is met by an acceptance of the position of the fifth-century pseudo-Dionysius, who distinguished between the ineffable Object of Religion and the symbols through which He is presented to us. As to question (3) Dr. Thouless would distinguish between what is absolutely binding in Creeds and Articles, and what is of secondary importance. The real question, however, is whether some particular symbols are to be held sacrosanct because of their use in Scripture and Creed; or if some and not others, on what principle the distinction is to be made. Psychology cannot here give any answer, but must pass on the problem to the theologian. This is where one who is not bound like the Anglican by Articles and Creeds may exercise more freedom in the modernization of the traditional language of Christianity than Dr. Thouless is disposed to allow.

I Who Am: A Study of the Self. By Lawrence Hyde. 222 pp. The Omega Press, Reigate, Surrey. 15s.

Mr. Hyde's 'Study' is devoted to the defence of a metaphysical as opposed to a merely psychological conception of the self. In its inmost essence as spirit, the self reaches out to the Transcendent. The trouble with psychology is that it treats the self after the manner of natural science, and so does not penetrate to its deepest recesses. Even the doctrine of the unconscious as propounded by Freud and Jung is unsatisfactory. The urges that they attribute to the unconscious come from the spiritual world beyond the self. The "unconscious" is only our unconscious: it has its being in consciousness that is not ours, but belongs to the sphere of transcendence. The self, however, is related not only to the transcendent, which is the permanent, but also through the body and the senses to what is impermanent. The former relation is summed up as Wisdom, the latter as Love. The *malaise* of today comes from the lack of integration of these two elements. It is precisely this integration which must be its cure. In all this, apart from the curious limitation of what is meant by 'Love', there is much with which most deeply religious people will agree. But the peculiarity of Mr. Hyde's doctrine is that he regards the human spirit as standing in immediate relation not only to God, the Absolutely Transcendent Spirit, but also to spirits intermediate between Him and it. Spirits belonging to the same "ray" from Him can mediate His power and presence. Protestant Christians, at least, will deny the necessity of any such mediators. This is the part of Mr. Hyde's book that they will find unacceptable.

Robert S. Franks.

Christian Realism and Political Problems. By Reinhold Niebuhr. 191 pp. Faber and Faber. 12s. 6d.

The dust-cover of this latest volume of Dr. Niebuhr's writings informs us that the book "should arouse as much discussion as did the book by

which the author first became widely known, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*". It is not easy to see why, for these essays, in the view of one reader at any rate, are much freer from controversial matter. Not that they do not contain such matter: otherwise essays on the subject of this volume would be worthless. Indeed, what Dr. Niebuhr does is to illuminate both political and ethical problems with a dash of realistic thinking from which both theologians and politicians could learn a good deal; for throughout his discussion of the themes of his choice he might have had at the back of his mind Bismarck's definition of politics as "the art of the possible". For example, Niebuhr warns us against facile illusions such as world government: one of the silliest and most impracticable of sentimental ideals, and silly and impracticable for so many reasons that a reviewer cannot spare the space to state them. The reader is advised to read what Niebuhr has to say about it. Incidentally, another of these contemporary illusions is "peaceful coexistence with Communism": one which would vanish if more people read the Communist Manifesto more often and banished wishful thinking from their approach to contemporary politics. Hence the essay on "Why is Communism Evil?" should help to rectify much careless thinking about Communism. One of the best of these essays is the one on "The Christian Witness in the Social and National Order", which was an address given by Niebuhr at Amsterdam in 1948. Other notable essays are those entitled "Faith and the Empirical Method in Modern Realism" and the one on Augustine's political realism. This book is, one might add, very Niebuhrish, as the final essay, "Coherence, Incoherence and Christian Faith" shows, for here we have a concentration of all the Niebuhr jargon: tangents, involvement, ambiguities, contradictions, validation, coherence, and the rest of the vocabulary so dear to the writer. Unfortunately the book is marred by the carelessness from which Niebuhr's writings are seldom free. Of the four German words quoted two are misspelt; *caritas* appears as *charitas;* we have "different than", a favourite error of Niebuhr's; he persists in writing "inordinancy", where the word should be "inordinateness" or "inordinacy"; and Mt.x.28 is slightly misquoted. Careful revision should have eliminated all of these. Despite these minor faults, the book is a welcome antidote to much careless thinking, both in and outside Christian circles, on both religion and politics, and as such is to be commended.

GERAINT V. JONES.

Communism and Christ. By CHARLES W. LOWRY. 192 pp. Eyre & Spottiswoode. 9s. 6d.

A Foreword by the Dean of St. Paul's describes this book as "for the general reader who wishes to gain some understanding of the perilous human world in which he is living and needs to have the situation presented to him clearly and without technicalities". From the title and from the fact that the author is a scholarly American Christian minister who writes "out of an urgent sense of mission" the substance of the book and its general conclusions may be anticipated, nevertheless it is very well worth reading. It shows how communist policy and strategy grow inevitably out of Marxism, but is especially good on the non-rational causes which lead men to become communists. So fierce, widespread and temporarily successful an assault upon the Christian faith and the civilization which it has inspired compels us to examine the philosophic and religious pretentions of the new claimant to men's intellectual and spiritual allegiance, which Dr. Lowry does very ably, showing that Dialectical Materialism is a logical absurdity, for strict materialism cannot have a dialectic. It is equally necessary to scrutinize no less closely the reasons for the weaknesses of

the way of life that has grown out of traditional Christian philosophy. The vulnerability of Christendom was, and is, less theoretical than practical. Christian love is demonstrably a better thing than the class-war, but we have to show that it is more effective in combating the wrongs and miseries of social injustice.

Incidentally the book conveys to an English reader a good deal about the American way of life. It acknowledges the dangers of a complacent superficiality at a time when the things that can be shaken are being shaken. The modern American is successful and rich. He desires to become more successful and more rich, and sees in scientific development the possibility of becoming so. But Dr. Lowry would have him see himself, with the rest of us, in the portrait of the Prodigal Son. If he can be awakened to the real plight of man in our day and to the knowledge that he himself is involved in it, that spiritual isolationism denies the Christian love with which he opposes the tyranny of communism, there is hope of recovery; otherwise a new dark age will descend. America has come suddenly into world power, which has to be exercised in the face of a skilful and subtle adversary. There is a useful bibliography. J. M. PHILLIPS.

Truth and Certainty (Lindsey Press, 2s.) is Professor A. Victor Murray's 1954 Essex Hall Lecture.

Freedom, Authority and Liberal Christianity (Lindsey Press, 2s.) by F. Kenworthy gives a concise statement of the beliefs held by Unitarians.

Some interesting reflections on the many current problems regarding Church and State are contained in Dr. Allan Barr's *The Ecumenical Church and the Ecumenical State* (Scottish Voluntary Churches Association, 1s.).

James Nayler: A Fresh Approach (Friends' Historical Society, 1s. 6d.) is a close and well documented study of one of the most strange and controversial figures among the early Quakers. The study is by Dr. G. F. Nuttall, and is his Presidential Address to the Friends' Historical Society. This is surely the first time that a Congregationalist has been President of the Society, an honour reflecting happily on Congregationalism and the Society of Friends alike.

Organic Design (O.U.P., 2s. 6d.) is Canon Raven's 1953 Dr. Williams's Library Lecture. Comparing Ray and Paley, he considers certain aspects of the argument from design. A. R. V.

RELIGION

LIFE AND WORK

The Bible. Third Jubilee Edition. 1,004 pp. B. & F.B.S. Ordinary edition, 7s. 6d. Special edition, 15s.

This is a new presentation of the Authorized Version, marking the third jubilee of the British and Foreign Bible Society. There are two special features: narrative is printed in paragraphs and verse as poetry, the conventional numbers being in the margin; and on almost every page there are illustrative drawings and sketch maps. This latter feature is partly decorative, but also serves to make the record more vivid, and the sketch maps add a sense of geographical reality. Paper and print are good, binding is maroon, and the size is 8 in. by $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. A. R. V.

A Treasury of the Kingdom. An Anthology compiled by E. A. BLACKBURN and others. 280 pp. Oxford: Geoffrey Cumberlege. 10s. 6d. School Edition, 9s. 6d.

Standing mainly but not exclusively in the Christian tradition, those "Servants of the Kingdom" whose lives and works are here represented in two hundred and fifty collected passages urge us on, like the great cloud of witnesses, towards the Christian goal. To say that the anthology is divided into five sections which speak in turn of The Approach to the Kingdom, its Festivals, its Fruit, its Servants, and The Kingdom Perfected, is to hide worlds of religious experience and conquest behind necessary arrangement of material and principle of choice. For here we participate in the moving valediction of Socrates and the equally moving prison experiences of Hanns Lilje and Henri Perrin; in the simple invitation of Epictetus to praise God, and the shining joy of St. Francis; in the peace of Jeanne Marie Guyon, and the sacrifice of Elizabeth Pilenko. And together with these appear many other men and women of our own and former times. Introductory notes prefixed to most of the excerpts will provide useful announcements when passages are read aloud.

The Optional God. By STEPHEN F. BAYNE, JR. 145 pp. Oxford University Press, New York, $2.45; London, Geoffrey Cumberlege, 15s.

The title *God is Optional* summarizes the secularist belief of our post-Christian era that it makes no fundamental difference whether God exists or not; He is a useful hypothesis, but the basic activities of our democracies must be so constructed as to function without Him.

Bishop Bayne studies the power of this dogma within American society to shape men's attitude to the State, to its educational system and industrial life, and to themselves. Optionalism in the Churches robs them of their mission to sinful men, and dissolves that native Christian scepticism towards all worldly pretensions to goodness. Secular society cannot, however, be denounced as "bad"; nor can the Church attempt to destroy it or flee from it. Within Creation explained by Redemption the Kingdom of God and the Church stand in continuity with all of life; Christ's cross is part of humanity. The real enemy of God is a spirit found both inside and outside the churches; its conquest is man's obedience to God in the midst of life. The book is thoroughly stimulating, its author stands in the prophetic tradition; its transatlantic setting is incidental, for its proclamation should be heeded upon both sides of the ocean.

The One Remains. A Report from Jerusalem. By STEWART PEROWNE. 192 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 20s.

No description of life in the tragically bisected city of today can omit the vicissitudes of past ages, for "the business of Jerusalem is eternity" wherein the whole of time is always about us. Its living history is the body of the city; the modern amenities are but marks upon its face. Within this framework of milleniums stands the afflicted city, now divided by a double frontier held apart by no-man's-land and representing only a modification of those arbitrary positions held by the opposing armies at the 'cease fire' in 1948.

All categories of Palestine Arab refugees number more than 864,000. Their picture is one of poverty and distress, and in its shadows lie the stubbornness and sufferings of the dispossessed, the plight of the sixty-three villages upon the truce line, the collective squalor of tented camps, the sense of betrayal of their inhabitants and a pitiless sundering of the God-hallowed relation between men and the tilled earth. In the light stand the charitable aids of the churches, drawn from widely separated sources but administered in unity, the helping agencies of UNO, the generosity of British people, and the heartening response of those Arabs who, with practical encouragement from the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, are building new villages for themselves.

It is a poignant story told with knowledge and dignity. Its necessary political allusions are fairminded and courageous; its references to Scripture reveal the proximity of the Bible to living men. The volume itself is beautifully produced and illustrated, and fitly testifies to the alluring power of the Holy City, an Englishman's love for it, and his faith in its eternal destiny. CONRAD BONIFAZI.

Job and His Friends. By T. H. ROBINSON. 125 pp. S.C.M. 7s. 6d.

This is a little book on a big subject, written for the non-specialist. There is a very good chapter on "The Friends of Job", and the working minister will find the whole book invaluable as preparatory reading for a course of sermons on Job. The scholarship is never obtruded, but there is the sure touch of the master on every page, particularly in the translations supplied by Dr. Robinson himself. The closing chapter, "The Conclusion of the Matter", is an excellent statement in short compass both of Job's problem and the solution of it. JAMES WOOD.

It's My Belief—Personal Affirmations of the Christian Faith. 60 pp. Epworth. 5s.

This is the third collection of personal statements of belief which I have read in the last year. The other two reflected the perplexities and half-faiths of the day, with but few Christian testimonies among them. This book, however, contains only statements by Christians. All bear testimony to the influence of Christian homes, but some of the contributors passed through periods of darkness before they made the faith their own. The sentence that struck me most occurs in Professor John MacMurray's statement: "The only faith that cannot be destroyed by experience must be one that gives meaning to life at its most tragic". Amen, say I.

Christianity and Race Relations. By T. PRICE. 88 pp. S.C.M. 4s. 6d.

The author, Lecturer in African Studies in the University of Glasgow, has written a little book which reveals both knowledge and insight. He does not simply condemn illiberal attitudes, but tries to help his readers to understand and then to change them. He indicates briefly the difficulties caused by economic and political inequality, and sees the colour bar as a

short cut to self-regard on the part of people who do not deserve it. The importance of the Church's work in creating a world community embracing men of all races and colours is strongly emphasized. This is a good book, and I hope its reception will encourage Mr. Price to write the more adequate modern study of the subject which he desiderates in his Foreword.

The Way, the Truth and the Life. By J. R. Macphail. 208 pp. O.U.P. 10s. 6d.

The author, who is Professor of English at Madras Christian College, refers to himself in his Introduction to this book as an "amateur theologian". Would that all "professional" theologians had his grasp of Christian doctrine and his power of communication! He has a gift for apt illustration and racy language which makes his exposition most readable. In nine chapters he deals with such subjects as Creation, the Fall of Man, Incarnation, Atonement, and the Church. His debt to John Whale and others whom he mentions is clear to anyone who knows their writings. What he has read, however, he has made his own and he presents Christian truth in a fresh and appealing way, supported by a wealth of apposite quotations from English literature.

Man, God and Prayer. By Hubert Northcott. 210 pp. S.P.C.K. 9s. 6d.

Protestants who read this book will find some things which seem strange to them. For instance it is stated that the Church is to be found only where the three-fold ministry is present. Penance is numbered among the Sacraments, and three estates of life in the Church are the Religious, the Ministry and the Laity. Most strange of all is the author's reference to the use of "Sacramentals". He writes on page 50 that "holy water, i.e. water mingled with a little salt and specially blessed by the priest, is used to drive away evil spirits and to bring a blessing". When, however, Father Northcott turns to the devotional life what he says is of value to Christians of all kinds. His chapters on Private Prayer, the Christian Athlete, The Bible, and Mental Prayer are most searching and helpful.

The Parish in Action. By Joost De Blank. 178 pp. Mowbray. 9s. 6d.

This book, written by an Anglican for Anglicans, nevertheless has much to say to other branches of the Church. Its theme is the way to change over to a missionary conception of the Church. The parson must become more of a missioner and less of a pastor. The congregation must share in the mission of the Church, and find its fellowship not in irrelevant week-night meetings but in doing the job of Christian evangelism and service. There are many churches beside the Anglican which could take to heart the author's strictures upon the way "bazaar-consciousness" can cheapen Church life. Might not one add also operetta-consciousness and pantomime-consciousness? In the second half of the book the author tells how he worked out his ideas in his former parish of Greenhill in the London area. The objective for his congregation was to see that nobody in the parish should ever be able honestly to say "The church never bothered about me". This is a lively and thought-provoking book. If many parish councils and diaconates were to study it, and act upon it, there would be a revival of Christianity in England in the next ten years.

I suppose I ought to have been horrified by the flippancy of *The English Sunday* by R. C. Churchill (136 pp., Watts & Co., 10s. 6d.), but in fact I found it most amusing. The author's contention is that it is foolish to speak of England as a "pagan" country, "for a pagan is one who believes in a multitude of gods and devils, and the difficulty of parsons and ministers

today is to get the bulk of their neighbours to believe in even one god and one devil''! No, says Mr. Churchill, the majority of English people are ''extreme Protestants who never go to church''. This statement is justified by the argument that most non-church-goers put forward that ''God is as much in your home, or in the country, or on Brighton beach as in a church or chapel''. The author contends that this is the logical outcome of the Protestant revolt against clerical authority. This is not to be read as a serious contribution to the discussion about religion in the modern world, but rather as an agnostic's clever skitting. The author confesses that he was a Congregationalist as a boy, and there is truth in his statement that Agnosticism is the logical step after ''low'' Nonconformity.

In the Things of My Father by Wilfrid L. Hannam (Epworth, 9s. 6d., 250 pp.) is a part devotional, part critical study in St. Luke's Gospel. It is a reprint of a book first published in 1935. The author has a vivid imagination and a lively and gracious way of expressing his views. He argues that ''the Gospel as we have it is the finished work of a creative artist to be judged finally by itself alone''. He is at pains to show that the purpose of Luke is to show Theophilus the enquirer what kind of person Jesus Christ is. The evangelist selects his material to this end, making use of *Mark* and also special sources in Caesarea and among the women who followed Jesus. The book renders a useful service, especially to the non-theological reader, by enabling him to follow the argument of the whole Gospel.

This is the day of the columnist (or half-columnist) who comments upon life and religion in 500 words every Saturday night. Dr. Trevor Davies has been contributing a weekly feature to the *Christian World* for the last three or four years. He has now made a selection from his articles, and has published them under the title *Corner Pieces* (Independent Press, 7s. 6d., 144 pp.). They are bright and readable, and each one makes its point.

In *News from the North* (Epworth, 6s., 94 pp.) Dr. Leslie Newman tells the story of his preaching rides through Durham and Northumberland. When minister of Brunswick Methodist Church, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, he hired a horse and rode through some of the loveliest country in the North of England. He talked to men by the roadside and addressed meetings in village and hamlet. He writes with gusto and intersperses descriptions of scenery with legends and potted sermons.

Addresses on the Epistle to the Romans by Kenneth Bounds (Epworth Press, 5s.) consists of Bible-class talks on themes suggested by some verses in the several chapters rather than a close exposition of the Apostle's thought. It is good to know that the author has taken classes through the great Epistle in this way in more than one place. His book may inspire others to a similar venture.

It is to be hoped that Free Churchmen will read *The Altar Fire* by Olive Wyon (S.C.M., 7s. 6d.). These reflections on the Eucharist are ideal devotional reading, a work of scholarship and of deep religious insight. We in the Free Churches have so much to learn. Our celebrations of the Sacrament are still too infrequent and too brief, and our people are ill-instructed. We often enough just do not know what we are missing, until we read and humbly receive what a book like this has to give us.

Frederick Luke Wiseman (Epworth Press, 6s.) contains articles by eight contributors in memory of a great evangelist. On the dust jacket this is described as a book for the Methodist minister and layman, but others should not be put off by that. Wiseman was a striking character and the writers paint a portrait from which anyone may take both warning and inspiration.

From the same publishers (Epworth Press, 6s.) comes *Services of Song*. Here are nine services based on hymns in the Methodist Hymn Book. They were arranged by Mr. W. Riley, author of the once famous *Windyridge*. The services contain a good deal of interesting and suggestive matter. They might be found particularly useful in midweek gatherings or in country churches when the preacher is suddenly unable to keep his appointment.

There are few preachers whose fifty-year old sermons will bear reproduction today. Samuel Chadwick, of Leeds, must be one, for *Sunday Evenings with Samuel Chadwick* (Epworth Press, Paper, 5s.), edited by D. W. Lambert, is the second volume of the kind to appear. The sermons are scriptural, on central themes, simple in language. They will be read and studied with profit.

Bible Cavalcade (Epworth Press, 10s. 6d.) by H. F. Mathews is a sound, workmanlike book setting out the history in the Bible as a continuous movement from the "Campfire Wisdom" of *Genesis* to "The Tablets of Memory" from which St. John transcribes his great commentary on the Gospel. Put another way, it is Bible background material designed for fifth-formers. It expects a good deal of them and is none the worse for that. Would that every church member might learn this much too!

Revival (S.C.M. Press, Paper, 4s. 6d.) by Max Warren is not sufficiently clearly described by its title. While it is a study of Revival, it bases that study upon an examination of a particular Anglican-based movement now at work in East Africa. It is a deeply interesting book, wise, charitably critical and finely hopeful.

A book which any child, 8-10, would be glad to have is *Old Testament Stories* (Evans, 7s. 6d.). Patrick Pringle retells eighteen familiar stories, simply and vividly. There are some highly coloured, conventional illustrations such as grip a child's attention.

We have a curious bit of book-making in *Jesus of Galilee, Saviour of Men* by the late F. Warburton Lewis (Epworth Press, 10s. 6d.). It is a dovetailing of two books published separately in 1931 and 1933, which sought to present the life of Christ first in its events and then in its inner experience. There is, of course, a sense in which the work is dated. As Dr. A. M. Hunter has pointed out, "Our New Testament scholars nowadays are not writing 'Lives' of Christ". Nevertheless, a book like this, even read with an awareness of the newer critical methods, gives that kind of stimulation which has ever come with a return to 'the Jesus of history'.

A little book of rare devotional value is *The Silences of Christ* by the late General of the Salvation Army, Albert Orsborn (Salvationist Press, 3s. 6d.). Its 52 pages are packed with good things, well said; and taken a page or two at a time it would make rich Lenten reading.

A Ministry to Deacons by Alan Green (Independent Press, paper, 9d.) ought first of all to be in the hands of every Moderator. When it has done its challenging and stimulating work there, it may be passed on to Ministers and Deacons. Let the principle from which this book springs be grasped, that leaders in our Church-life should take the lead, foremost in things spiritual; then would a change pass over the face and the heart of our churches.

The Religious Education Press continues its admirable series dealing with the secondary sections of the Agreed Syllabuses with a volume on *The Rise of the Prophets* by Norman J. Bull (7s. 6d.). For any who would teach about Elijah and Elisha and the eighth century prophets this is the book, comprehensive in its material, reliable in its facts.

Dr. Norman Goodall gave to the Congregational Union the kind of Chairman's Address which we expected of him, both in style and content,

Gathered—for What? (Independent Press, paper, 9d.). It will be valued for its clarity of expression, for its sharp, refreshing witticisms, for its breadth of vision and its devotional depth, above all for its emphasis upon the living lordship of Christ. The question in the title is answered: Gathered for Worship, Gathered for Scattering, and Gathered in the Name. The delivery of the Address was said to have been marked by a sense of the pressure of time. What is happening to a responsible Assembly which appoints a Chairman and grudges him an hour in which to address it?

The Introduction to the latest Torch Commentary *II Corinthians* by R. Hanson (S.C.M., 6s. 6d.) refers to the necessity of "wrestling" with the Letter and its thorny critical questions. This commentary is a safe guide to the student in matters of text and translation. Attention should be drawn to the Detached Notes, packed with matter. That on Apostleship is controversial. Even more so are the remarks on democracy and church government and the apostolic ministry on the last two pages of the book.

The Man at the Bell by A. Whigham Price (Presbyterian Bookroom and Independent Press, 5s.) contains thirty talks to children. They are full of good stuff. We shall look for more from the same pen.

In preparation for the Diamond Jubilee of the Women's Missionary College, Edinburgh, Olive Wyon has written the story of Ann Hunter Small, its Founder-Principal, *The Three Windows* (James Clarke, paper, 3s. 6d.). It is a very interesting story of early missionary service in India, of a call to missionary education, and then to a life of prayer. Readers may dig out for themselves the reason for the intriguing title of the book. It is given on p. 102. Henceforward it will doubtless illustrate many sermons.

JOHN WILDING.

Making Contact by S. M. Berry and *Happiness Day by Day* by H. F. Lovell Cocks, published by Independent Press at 1s. each, are B.B.C. "Lift up your Hearts" talks.

On Profession of Faith (Independent Press, 3d.) is a useful pamphlet to give to young people considering the challenge of Church Membership.

The Salvationist Press has issued two brief biographies at 3d. each, *The Boy who didn't Count* by C. J. Barnes and *Son of Sri Lanka* by V. Thompson, and, at 10d., *My Book of Praise and Prayer*, for young children, by Catherine Baird and James Moss. A. R. V.

The Craft of the Sermon. By W. E. SANGSTER. 304 pp. Epworth Press. 9s. 6d.

Dr. Sangster has gathered into one volume two previous books, *The Craft of Sermon Construction* and *The Craft of Sermon Illustration*, which have already been noticed in this journal. It is convenient to have this material gathered into a single book, for there can be no doubt that what he has to say is illuminating for all preachers. Apart from the value of the technical and practical instruction in this book, the reader cannot but gain from the author's evident belief in preaching and his passionate enthusiasm for it. JOHN HUXTABLE.

Teach Yourself to Sing. By CLARENCE R. THORPE. English Universities Press. 125 pp. 6s.

'This is not just one more book on the art of singing', says the author in his preface. 'It is (a) a short course, consisting of a series of progressive daily lessons extending over . . . six weeks . . . and (b) a short course of study on the art of reading music at sight'. It is a handbook for the amateur solo singer, and not a guide for choirmasters; but no doubt choirmasters will profit from its contents in as much as it is well if a choirmaster can sing

tolerably well himself and offer his charges hints on voice-production. From the technical point of view the book seems unexceptionable, though it may be doubted, perhaps, whether the very important physical background of the act of singing is adequately handled. As a guide to the principles of music it is less reliable, and the Glossary should be used with caution. Two of the four examples of the use of double flats and sharps (p. 107) are ungrammatical, and *Appoggiatura, Pointing, Precentor* and *Succentor* are wrongly defined. Nevertheless there is much useful practical advice.

ERIK ROUTLEY.

Three Short Nativity Plays. By R. P. K. HALLETT. Methuen. 2s. 6d.

These three plays all have manageable casts of from 12 to 15 children and they make a judicious use of Carols. There is, however, only one play, *The Gifts of the Christ-Child,* which departs in any real measure from the conventional. This play has for its theme the idea of Tolstoy's *Where Love is, God is.* An elderly toy-maker has packed up a basket with her toys, intending to go with a shepherd-lad to give them to the Christ-Child, when two homeless children come to her cottage. Her kind heart persuades her to stay with them. She gives her toys to the younger child. In a vision she sees an Angel offering these same toys to Jesus. There is plenty of movement, good contrast and an effective use of music in this play. It is a great pity that the language is so stilted. All these plays may be performed without fee by children acting as amateurs if no charge is made for admission.

JASON S. WRIGHT.

Thine Is the Kingdom. By A. R. VINE. 20 pp. Independent Press. 1s.

Under the general title "Thine is the Kingdom" the Congregational Forum will consider this year the application of Christianity to various aspects of life—education, industry, politics and personal living. It is hoped that many Churches will take up this theme in their Church Meetings or Study Groups during the coming autumn and winter. In order to help both those who are going to the Forum and those who may follow this suggestion later on, Dr. A. R. Vine has produced a booklet which deals with the subjects mentioned in the Forum programme, and two or three others besides. The little book does not contain essays on these topics but is carefully designed to help leaders and members of Study Groups. Each section begins with the statement of a particular challenge to the Christian faith followed by a short list of relevant Scripture passages, a terse summing up of the issues involved, suggestions as to the kind of people who should be asked to lead the various discussions, a few well-chosen questions "to start you talking", and a book list. The book lists are good and comprehensive and prepare the way for the reading of weightier volumes by those who wish to pursue any subject further. Perhaps a few more titles might have been given on Industry, which has a rather meagre list compared with the others. We might add Sir George Schuster's *Human Relationships in Industry.* The booklet is clear and incisive, and all who are wise enough to use it will find it a stimulating aid to clear thinking on subjects of great difficulty and complexity.

L. J. TIZARD.

MISCELLANEA

Once A Miner. By NORMAN HARRISON. O.U.P. 183 pp. 12s. 6d.

Here is a book for which many of us have long been waiting. It tells in a realistic way what the life of a coal miner involves, and the author is to be congratulated on describing his experiences in an interesting style. He entered the mine in 1942 having left the Civil Service in 1940, and for three years he went from one job to another until he settled down to work his own stint for two years. Few who have never worked in a coal mine can realize the hazards and severe conditions which the miner must accept; to appreciate fully what he is up against one needs to know personally what it means to work in confined spaces where the ventilation is bad, and the risks are great, or to work in a perpetual shower bath of coal dust which clogs the lungs and speedily reduces the expectancy of life. Mr. Harrison has given the reading public a very human document of what it costs to produce coal: not in terms of money but of blood, sweat, and sometimes life itself, and it will do much, if read carefully, to help the non-mining community to speed up other means for producing heat than by burning coal. Having worked as a miner for over twelve years, I have no hesitation in commending this book. W. E. SARGENT.

A Way of Survival. By ARTHUR W. MUNK. 164 pp. Bookman Associates, Inc., New York, $3.

This book from the U.S.A. provides evidence that liberalism among the intellectuals is by no means intimidated by the current American assertions of military and economic power that are causing so much concern throughout the world. The analysis of the philosophic and political dilemma of the free world is stated succinctly—not only would democratic civilization perish in another 'hot' world war, but its values are being destroyed by the threat of it: it is perishing of the effort to keep itself alive. The author therefore calls for a renewed effort to find in a philosophy of "realistic idealism" a basis of "perpetual peace", a basis which religion is too divided to provide. The organization through which this philosophy can find expression already exists in the United Nations Organization, which must be taken more seriously and used more hopefully. At present what is being spent on building a secure peace is the merest fraction of what is being spent on being able to fight a war, which if allowed to come will mean the virtual extinction of the world we know. The author believes there are signs of hope that Russia may be willing to agree to some form of atomic energy control. He therefore calls for a new crusade for peace, inspired by fear and hope, and suggests "eight steps towards perpetual peace".

J. M. PHILLIPS.

The Theory of Economic Dynamics. By M. KALECKI. 178 pp. Allen and Unwin, 18s.

This essay on cyclical and long-run changes in capitalist economy (chiefly American) is only for experts in economics or econometrics. It is made more difficult than it need have been by the fact that one quarter of it consists of pages of (largely unexplained) algebraical formulae and graphs which are unintelligible to the lay reader, though they may be illuminating to students of capital investment, the complex questions of the relation of investment to wages and cycles of business fluctuation.

GERAINT V. JONES.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

Hibbert Journal (July) includes 'Pharisee or Publican' in which Professor Toynbee replies to Mr. Douglas Jerrold's criticism of *The World and the West*; an editorial article on W. R. Inge precedes Inge's paper on 'Inferior Races'. Dr. Alastair Mackinnon writes on 'God, Humanity and Sexual Polarity'; Dr. F. B. Julian on 'The Maleness of God'; Professor C. Perelman on 'Proof in Philosophy'; Professor Dorothy Tarrant on 'The Cave and the Sun'.

International Review of Missions (July) includes 'Syncretism as a Religious and Missionary Problem' by Dr. H. Kraemer; 'The End of Missionary Work in China?' by Dr. W. Seufert; 'The Sixth Buddhist Council' by Rev. A. J. Eastman; 'The Training of Christian Ministers in Non-British Africa' by Dr. M. S. Bates; 'Problems and Prospects in West Pakistan' by Dr. J. W. Sweetman.

Scottish Journal of Theology (June): 'The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the Latin Fathers' by Professor J. H. S. Burleigh; 'The Ministry of Healing' by Rev. J. S. McEwen; 'The O.T. and Some Theological Thought-Forms' by Professor N. W. Porteous; 'The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Adam' by Professor M. Black; 'Parable in O.T.' by Professor A. S. Herbert.

London Quarterly and Holborn Review (July) is mainly devoted to articles on 'The Call to the Ministry' by Dr. W. R. Cannon, Dr. Leslie Church, Dr. Leslie Cooke, Dr. John Foster, Michael Derrick, Rev. J. Y. Muckle and Rev. J. L. Webb. Dr. A. D. Belden writes on George Whitefield and Rev. E. R. Burnett on A. S. Peake. Mr. C. W. M. Gell concludes his 'A Philosophy of Healing'.

Expository Times (May) has 'The Christian Hope and the Problem of Demythologizing' (1) by Professor R. Bultmann; 'Speaking about Sin in the Modern World' by Rev. James Stewart; 'W. Wrede's *The Messianic Secret in the Bible*' by Dr. Vincent Taylor. (June) Professor Bultmann's article is concluded; 'Goguel's *Life of Jesus*' by Dr. Leslie Mitton. (July) Professor Ian Henderson writes on 'Jaspers and Demythologizing'; Dr. Mauchline on 'A. J. Gossip'; Rev. C. F. Evans on 'Otto's *Kingdom of God and the Son of Man*'.

Theology (July) has four articles on the Church of South India which ought not to be missed by those interested. (August) 'Roman Catholics and the Bible' by Rev. Hugh Montefiore is a review article on *A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture*.

Baptist Quarterly (July) includes 'Andrew Fuller as Letter Writer' by Dr. E. A. Payne; 'Spurgeon's Homes' by Rev. G. W. Hughes; 'Recent Trends in the Theology of Baptism' by Rev. A. Gilmore.

Friends Quarterly (July) has 'Prayer in Quaker Experience' by Beatrice S. Snell; 'Leonhard Ragaz: His Life and Thought' by Rennie Smith; 'Symbolism and the African' by Eric G. Wyatt.

Modern Churchman (June) includes 'The Leaping Spark' by the late W. R. Inge; 'Mau Mau and Christians' by Frank Bouverie; 'A Plea for the Comparative Study of Religion' by Professor S. G. F. Brandon; 'The Immaculate Conception' by Dr. W. H. C. Frend.

Church Quarterly Review (July-September) has 'Transubstantiation and Sacrifice' by F. C. Long; 'A Study of Babylonian Religion' by Sidney Smith; 'Dual Attitude to Death' by G. Lacey May.

Evangelical Quarterly (July) has 'Teaching the O.T. Prophets' by Laurence E. Potter; 'Christian Hope and History' by Professor Otto Piper; 'Calvin and Hymn-Singing' by Dr. K. J. Kraan.

Harvard Theological Review (April) has 'The Single Eye' by Henry J. Cadbury; 'Aspects of the "Great" Persecution' by G. E. M. de Ste Croix (39 pp.).

Huntingdon Library Quarterly (May) includes 'Thomas Fuller's Oxford Interlude' by Professor James O. Wood; 'Defoe and the Earl of Marr' by Professor J. R. Moore; 'Bishop Berkeley and Progress' by R. C. Cockrane.

Yale Review (Summer) includes 'Collective Security and Korea' by A. Wolfers; 'Soviet Russia and the German Problem' by F. H. Hartmann; 'Greece and Recovery' by Theo. Saloutos; 'The Right of Revolution and the Rights of Man' by Stuart W. Chapman.